Volume 21, No. 1 Spring Number, 1932

Bulletin of Friends' Historical Association

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Communications concerning circulation and editorial matters should be addressed to Editor, Bulletin of Friends' Historical Association, Haverford College, Haverford, Pennsylvania.

Dues and subscriptions should be paid to I. Thomas Steere, Treasurer of Friends' Historical Association, 30 Buck Lane, Haverford, Pennsylvania.

Subscription price, $1.00 per number, $2.00 per annum. Half price to libraries ordering direct from Bulletin office. All members receive the Bulletin without extra charge.

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Notice to Members

The Membership Committee would call the attention of the members of the Historical Association to the fact that our activities could be greatly expanded if we had a larger membership.

Any member of the Society of Friends and also non-Friends are eligible for membership and the committee would welcome nominations. Kindly forward such nominations to the Chairman of the Membership Committee, John W. Cadbury, Jr., Moorestown, New Jersey.

Annual membership dues, $2.00. Life membership, $50.00.

"Perpetual Membership" has been provided for by the following amendment to the Constitution:

Upon receipt of any gift or bequest of one thousand dollars or more, the donor or the person in whose memory the fund is given shall be elected to perpetual membership. The names of such members shall be printed in all lists of membership, and if the person is deceased the name shall be followed by the words, "In Memoriam."

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THE ANNUAL MEETING OF FRIENDS' HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, 1931

Friends' Historical Association held its annual meeting in the rooms of The Historical Society of Pennsylvania on Second-day, Eleventh Month 30, 1931. Charles Francis Jenkins, President of the Association, presided at the business meeting. The annual reports of the President and Treasurer were given, and the Directors of the Association were re-elected for the ensuing year. After the adjournment of the business meeting, the Directors met and elected officers, with results as indicated on the preceding page of this BULLETIN.

The first part of the entertainment of the evening consisted of the showing of moving pictures of the anniversary meeting at Burlington, taken by Margaretta S. Hinchman and Henry N. Woolman. There followed a poem on William Penn, written and read by David H. Wright. The remainder of the evening was spent by those present in examining the large exhibition of pictures arranged for the occasion by the Committee on Old Meeting Houses, Walter F. Price, Chairman.

Walter F. Price had loaned a collection of beautiful photographs taken during a recent visit to England. Quite notable among his pictures was an enlarged interior view of Swarthmore Hall, as reproduced in the frontispiece above, and an enlarged view of the ancient Abbot's Kitchen of Glastonbury Abbey, Somersetshire. The latter was used for forty years as a meeting house by Friends, among whom were the ancestors of our Pennsylvania Clothiers and of Roger Clark, grandson of John Bright and son-in-law of our friend, the late William P. Bancroft, of Wilmington, Delaware. Built of cut stone, this picturesque old edifice is octagonal in shape and may have been the prototype of

GOLDBROOK LIBRARY PACIFIC SCHOOL OF RELIGION

the old Burlington Meeting House and other structures of like form on this side of the water.

In the same collection was an enlargement of All Hallows Barking Church near the Tower of London. Samuel Pepys devotes several thrilling pages in his Diary to the story of the great fire of 1666 which destroyed Old St. Pauls and eighty-nine churches. There were left about eight churches standing, when nine-tenths of old London was burned down. The All Hallows Church, about one square west of the Tower of London, was one of those left, and Pepys tells how he mounted this church to see the fire sweep on its way. For Friends and for all Americans this old church has the interest of being the one in which William Penn was baptized and John Quincy Adams married. In the south aisle there is a modern bronze tablet to the founder of Pennsylvania.

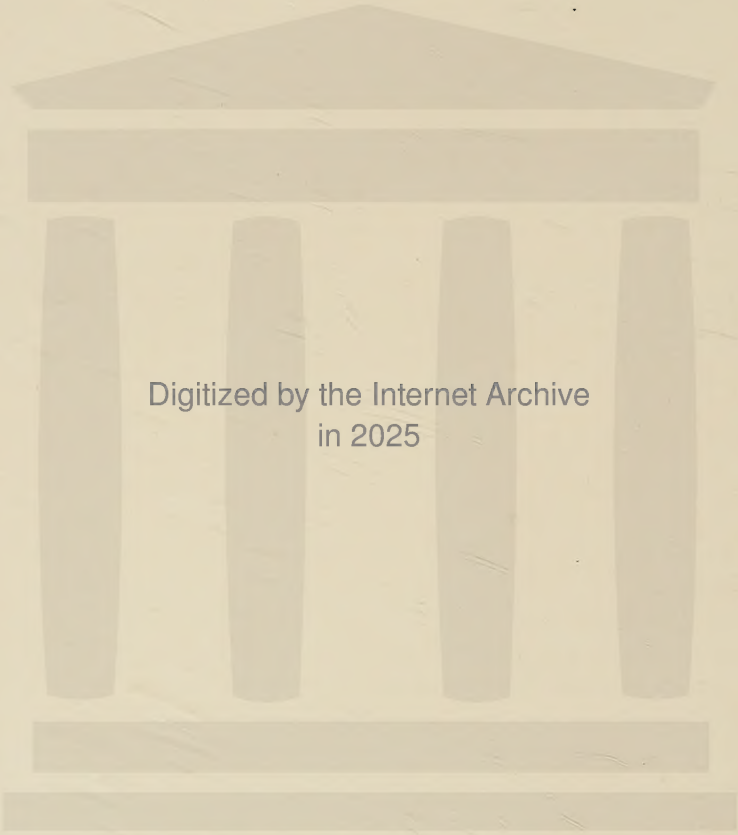
Philip B. Wallace, well-known photographer, loaned many original photographs that were used in his splendid new book called *Colonial Churches and Meeting Houses in Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Delaware.* These were mounted on large cardboards and hung on the walls of the assembly room. Likewise were shown many pictures taken by Horace Mather Lippincott, who had assisted Philip Wallace by conveying him from point to point in his work, and had himself taken many fine views of old meeting houses.

Albert Cook Myers devoted much time to arranging the various exhibits, particularly a collection of several hundred views of old meeting houses, displayed in three show cases, one containing his own pictures and the other two (including the Gilbert Cope Collection) loaned by The Historical Society of Pennsylvania. T. Chalkley Matlack also contributed to the occasion by loaning a scrapbook from a large collection of pictures of meeting houses taken by himself.

A happy sequel of the occasion was the gift by Horace M. Lippincott, Walter F. Price, and Philip B. Wallace, of their respective exhibits to Friends' Historical Association. The combined collections make a notable and highly valuable addition to the archives of the Association.

The Ancient Octagonal Abbot's Kitchen, c. A.D. 1400, of Stone, Glastonbury Abbey, Somersetshire, England.
Used as a Friends' Meeting House, 1670–c. 1710.

First Friends' Meeting House, Octagonal, High Street, Burlington, New Jersey. Built 1682.
The Abbot's Kitchen (above) may have been the prototype of this building.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With no large announcement the meeting was yet well attended, about one hundred and thirty persons being present. The social opportunities of the evening and the pictorial panorama of the past united to make this annual meeting a worthy occasion.

ELIHU EMBREE, QUAKER ABOLITIONIST, AND SOME OF HIS CO-WORKERS

By Matilda Wildman Evans

The significance of personality as apprehended by Friends was bound to challenge the hoary institution of slavery. In 1671, when George Fox first came into actual contact with human bondage in Barbadoes, his advice to Quaker masters was that overseers deal mildly and gently with their Negroes, that the latter be trained in the fear of God, and be made free after certain years of servitude. William Edmundson was with Fox on the continent of America, but spent a longer time in the southern colonies. After returning home he wrote an epistle to Friends in Virginia and other parts of America, condemning in no uncertain terms the keeping of slaves. In 1688 the German Friends near Philadelphia drew up their historic declaration. In 1699 George Keith, before he left the Society of Friends, published a strong anti-slavery pamphlet.

During the first half of the eighteenth century there developed here and there among American Friends a testimony against slavery and the slave trade. About the middle of the century came the great turning point. Then John Woolman consecrated the gifts of an apostle to the cause of the black man, and within a few decades the Society of Friends took a stand against human slavery from which it never receded. "By the end of the eighteenth century there was not a slave in the possession of a Friend in good standing except where slaves were held by trustees, and state laws did not allow them to be set free."

The American Revolution with its insistence on the inalienable rights of man gave impetus to the anti-slavery movement. By the end of the eighteenth century all of the northern states had adopted either absolute or gradual emancipation. After 1808 the further

importation of slaves into the United States was outlawed by the national government. A movement toward gradual emancipation gained some headway in the South after the Revolution. But conditions in that section favored the continuance of slavery. Eli Whitney's cotton gin, invented in 1793, gave new impulse to the extensive cultivation of cotton. Almost simultaneously the opening to settlement of the Gulf region, with its rich alluvial soil, insured the rapid expansion of cotton culture. Hence the anti-slavery movement in the South languished and the sectional division of North and South became more ominous.

The Abolition Society movement began in 1791. In that year a society was organized in Henrico County, Virginia, composed of Friends, Methodists and others. The well known Friend, Robert Pleasants, was its president, and an earnest effort was made to influence the minds of leaders of public opinion in Virginia against the slave trade.

Charles Osborn, a North Carolina Friend by birth, but living in Washington County, Tennessee, was most successful as an organizer of Manumission Societies. His work began in 1814 in Washington County and spread so rapidly that by 1815 it was necessary to federate the local groups in eastern Tennessee. This federation was effected at Lost Creek Meeting House in Jefferson County, Tennessee. The following year Charles Osborn, visiting his native state of North Carolina, organized Manumission Societies there. In York County, Virginia, he found Elisha Bates engaged in the same endeavor.

In the autumn of 1816 Charles Osborn removed from Tennessee to Mount Pleasant, Ohio, and in a few months began to publish *The Philanthropist.* This paper was devoted in part to temperance and peace, but chiefly to the anti-slavery cause. It was of short life, as the owner soon sold it and removed to Indiana. There he became prominent in the anti-slavery agitation that led, in 1843, to a separation in Indiana Yearly Meeting.[1]

Benjamin Lundy, a native of New Jersey, is next in the line of Quaker anti-slavery leaders. In early life he lived in various parts of the West. During the year 1815 he organized in his own house,

[1] R. M. Jones, *Later Periods of Quakerism,* 2: 587–589; *Journal of . . . Charles Osborn* (1854).

at St. Clairsville, in Eastern Ohio, an anti-slavery society composed of five or six persons. "In a few months . . . the Society contained nearly five hundred members, among whom were most of the influential preachers and lawyers and many respectable citizens of . . . that section of the state." [2]

St. Clairsville was only a few miles from Mount Pleasant. Hence when *The Philanthropist* began publication at the latter place Lundy was at once an interested subscriber and reader. Soon he began to make editorial contributions to the paper. So acceptable were his offerings that Charles Osborn invited him to join in the publishing business. Lundy decided to accede to the proposal, but had first to dispose of the products of his leather and saddle-maker's shop. To do this he embarked on the Ohio river and thus carried his goods to St. Louis where he expected to find a better market than in Ohio. Business proved to be poor, but Lundy was interested in the lively discussions in the western city concerning the proposed Missouri Compromise and the impending admission of the state to the Union.

The sequel may be narrated in Lundy's own words: "I returned home a distance of 700 miles, on foot, and in the winter season, I had lost, at St. Louis, some thousands of dollars, and had been detained from home a year and ten months. . . . Before I left St. Louis, I heard that, as I had staid from home so much longer than had been anticipated, Charles Osborn . . . had sold out his printing establishment to Elisha Bates, and also that Elihu Embree had commenced the publication of an anti-slavery paper, called *The Emancipator,* at Jonesborough in Tennessee." [3]

These brief references to some early Quaker leaders of the anti-slavery crusade bring the story down to its chief subject, Elihu Embree. Who was he and whence did he come? One authority says "*The Emancipator* was published monthly by Elijah Embree, one of two Quaker brothers from Philadelphia who manufactured iron near Elizabethton." [4] This statement is in error, as it was Elihu, and not his practical-minded brother, Elijah, who was fired with a crusader's enthusiasm. It is, moreover, probable that neither of them had ever seen Philadelphia.

[2] T. Earle, *Life, Travels and Opinions of Benjamin Lundy* (1847), p. 19.
[3] *Life . . . of Benjamin Lundy,* p. 19.
[4] Humes, *Loyal Mountaineers of Tennessee,* p. 33.

Their grandfather, Moses Embree, was born at Little Egg Harbor, New Jersey. When Moses was six years old his father moved his family to Pennsylvania and settled in Oxford township, Philadelphia County.[5] There Moses Embree grew to manhood, serving his apprenticeship as an ironworker. In 1745 the family was living in Robeson township, then in Lancaster County.

Six years later began the historic migration from Pennsylvania southward along the Virginia piedmont and by way of the Shenandoah Valley, to Orange County in North Carolina. In 1753 Moses Embree and his brother John and their young wives made this long journey. They seem to have halted near the present town of Danville, in Virginia, near the North Carolina line.[6]

In 1769 Daniel Boone and James Robertson penetrated into the wilds of Tennessee. An old land record in Washington County of that state is said to recite the fact that Moses Embree had in the same year secured a claim there. He may have been a member of the Watauga Association, which was recruited from Virginia, and which made its first settlement at Watauga, now Elizabethton, in Washington County. Or he may have gone earlier to the new Quaker settlement at Bush River, in Newberry County, South Carolina. (The earliest extant minute of Bush River Monthly Meeting, in the Sixth Month, 1772, mentions Moses Embree engaged in meeting service. But Bush River would be more easily reached from Tennessee than any other.)

The eldest son of Moses Embree was Thomas. It would be interesting to learn where he was educated, for he wrote a script like an engraver's, and had a classic English style.[7] He was as well instructed also in the iron industry, and in pursuit of his trade he back-tracked the family trail in 1777 and came to Pennsylvania. He was then twenty-two years of age, and he spent two years at work in the Welsh Mountain region. Thence, passing through the Shenandoah Valley, he stopped for a time to help Dirck Pennypacker from Nantmeal to put into operation Pine Forge near New Market.

[5] *Minutes* of Little Egg Harbor, Abington, and Exeter Monthly Meetings (*passim*).

[6] Correspondence, Exeter M. Mtg. *Minutes,* and Joseph Oxley's "Journal" in *Friends' Library,* 2: 456.

[7] See Introduction to Thomas Embree, *Orthography Corrected.* Phila. 1813.

While there Thomas Embree was married at Hopewell Meeting to Esther Coulson who was living with her aged grandmother, Esther Allen, in Frederick County. Esther Allen was the youngest sister of Samuel Woolman of Rancocas, John Woolman's father. Thus it is not difficult to imagine the feeling on the slavery question in the home in which the Embree brothers were to be born.[8]

After a stay of a few years in Shenandoah County, Virginia, Thomas Embree took his family of three little children to his old home on the Nolichucky, in Tennessee. During his absence of ten or twelve years changes had come. No longer was it necessary to go all the way to Bush River, South Carolina, to attend Monthly Meeting. Westfield Meeting in the foothills of the Blue Ridge, in North Carolina, had just been organized. The short-lived attempt to maintain an independent government as the State of Franklin, with Jonesboro as its capital and John Sevier as its governor, had just been abandoned. Washington County, as the whole region was then called had come again under the jurisdiction of North Carolina. Soon it was turned over by that state to the federal government, because it was impracticable to provide either civil organization or military protection for so large and so remote a territory.

Thomas Embree developed a large business there in the manufacture of iron.[9] The population was increasing. Two monthly meetings, Lost Creek in Jefferson County, and Newhope in Greene County, were organized for Tennessee Friends. In 1796 the territory was made a state of the Union. The following year Reverend George Newton started a classical school just across the North Carolina line. Through the French Broad pass this school was easily accessible to the pioneers on the Nolichucky.

Soon after 1800 the Friends of Bush River, feeling the pressure of a slaveholding environment, began to move northward along the route made by the Saluda, the French Broad, Cumberland Gap, and the Licking River. Their path led across the Ohio River

[8] Mo. Mtg. *Minutes* of Bush River, S. C., Exeter and Sadsbury, Pa., and Hopewell, Va.

[9] It is stated on the authority of a careful historian that Thomas Embree was a Minister of the Society of Friends, although no first-hand evidence for the fact is cited. Asa Earl Martin "Pioneer Anti-Slavery Press," in *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, 2 (1916) : 514.

to the Little Miami country, recently vacated by the Indians. This migration stirred again the pioneering spirit of Thomas Embree. Leaving his iron business in the hands of his two sons, just arriving at manhood, he removed with his wife and two daughters to the Ohio country. There he settled at Old Chillicothe, or Old Town, as it is now called, in Greene County.

Elihu Embree, of Washington County, and Annette, daughter of Abraham Williams, were married at Newhope Meeting House, Third Month 17th, 1803. Two little daughters came to them, and Annette died in 1806. In 1808 Elihu was again married, this time to Elizabeth Worley. There were five children of this marriage.[10] His brother Elijah married a granddaughter of John Sevier, but as she was not a Friend, the date of this marriage does not appear in the meeting records.

The young men applied themselves diligently to the business left in their charge, and were so successful that Elijah could report to his father in 1820, after fifteen years of independent management: "The property of E. & E. Embree consists of 2 forges, a furnace and Nail factory here [Sullivan County] with about 1700 acres of land, one forge in Carter County, Grassy Cove, with near 1000 acres of land, one forge in Washington County with 3000 acres of land; the whole has been valued at one hundred and twenty thousand Dollars but it is worth a much greater sum."

Another business venture was not so fortunate. Elihu Embree planned to develop a mercantile business and went to Baltimore to purchase goods. He bought too largely, and the long haul homeward greatly increased the outlay. His attempt proved a complete failure and loaded the brothers with debts.

Elihu's interest in business was, however, quite secondary to the crusade in which he was about to embark. The institution of slavery did not heavily encumber life in the mountains at this outpost of civilization, yet the debates in Congress preceding the Missouri Compromise had brought the subject to the minds of all. The Manumission Societies, now well organized, were increasing the tension on the subject.

Under these circumstances there was need for an organ through which the anti-slavery forces might rally their forces and spread

[10] Record of Births, Newhope Meeting, Tennessee.

their doctrines. Elihu Embree was destined to supply the need.[11] His first venture as an anti-slavery editor was apparently in publishing the weekly *Manumission Intelligencer,* the first number of which came from the press at Jonesboro in Third Month, 1819. Surprisingly little is known about this paper and no file of it is known to exist. Yet there is ample evidence that it did exist, and it was apparently the first publication in the United States devoted exclusively to the anti-slavery crusade.[12]

In Fourth Month, 1820, the weekly paper was replaced by an octavo monthly, and the title was changed to the *Emancipator.* A circular sent out to introduce the new venture contained the following: "Proposals by Elihu Embree for publishing in the town of Jonesborough, Tennessee, a Monthly Paper entitled the EMANCIPATOR. The *Emancipator* will be published monthly, on a fine super-royal sheet, in octavo form, at One Dollar per annum payable in advance. The *Emancipator* is intended to advocate and promote the Abolition of Slavery, and to prepare the public mind for that desirable epoch when all men shall equally enjoy their natural rights."—A portion of the circular was left blank for the signatures of subscribers.

The first number of the *Emancipator* bore the date of Fourth Month 30, 1820. It contained the following statement to the public:

> "This paper is specially designed by the editor to advocate the abolition of slavery, and to be a repository of tracts on that interesting and important subject. . . . The constitutions and proceedings of the several benevolent societies in the United States and elsewhere who have had this grand object in view will be carefully selected and published.
>
> "A correspondence between those societies and between individuals in different parts of the nation on the subject of emancipation will be kept up through the medium of this paper. . . . The speeches of those who have been and are advocating this glorious cause, either in the Congress of the United States, the State Legislatures, or in the parliaments and courts of other nations, will be strictly attended to. . . .

[11] Strangely enough Elihu Embree had himself owned slaves. However, he had freed them all at great financial sacrifice, about 1812. — Martin, "Pioneer Anti-Slavery Press," as above, p. 514.

[12] Martin, "Pioneer Anti-Slavery Press," as above, p. 515.

> "The Manumission Society of Tennessee in particular, it is expected will afford many tracts on the subject of slavery, which the editor assures them he will feel inclined to respect; and . . . will give them an early and gratuitous insertion. And for this purpose the Clerks of the Convention and of each branch of the society are requested to forward from time to time true copies of all their minutes . . . together with the names of their members, their places of residence, etc.
>
> "Those who have had or may have law suits on hand for the freedom of such as are unlawfully held in bondage are desired to forward the true history of the facts, their progress, final decision, etc., with the places of residence and names of plaintiffs and defendants, with every interesting particular, and they shall find in the *Emancipator* a true repository. . . . As it will be at considerable trouble and expense that this work will be published, agreeably to the editor's intentions, it is hoped that none who have any love for African liberty will think hard of paying $1.00 annually to the support of the only paper of this kind in the United States.
>
> "All communications by mail to the editor must be directed as follows: Elihu Embree, Postmaster, Embree's Iron Works, Sullivan County, Tenn. By this means the postage will be free both to and from the editor; the government bearing the expense, as it righteously ought, of distributing these communications through the country, for the purpose of preparing the public mind for a practical reform from imposing unconditional slavery on a portion of its subjects." [13]

The temper of this Quaker editor may be judged from one of his early editorials answering the common objections to emancipation:

> "In answer to these insurmountable difficulties, it has been observed that as slavery is a moral evil, it ought to be removed as speedily as possible, and trust the consequence of such a duty in the hands of an unerring Providence, who punished the Egyptians for disobedience in a similar case; but has never suffered the obedient in any age or nation to sustain any real loss in consequence of their submission to his commands."

[13] Quotations from and information about the *Emancipator* are from E. E. Hoss, *Elihu Embree, Abolitionist.* Vanderbilt Southern Historical Soc., *Publications,* No. 2. Nashville. 1897.

Elihu Embree, like his successor, William Lloyd Garrison, was prepared to be "As harsh as truth and as uncompromising as justice." He wrote:

> "If I am not mistaken, it is a prevalency amongst men, and particularly amongst that class of people whose sacred office gives them privilege and frequent opportunity for exhibiting in true colors the deformity of slavery, to say too little against it; and that little, too generally done is a cringing, soft, fearful manner, for fear of giving offense to those whom they believe to be in the spirit and practice of it, while they will plainly declare against their follies and evil practices of far less magnitude; almost skipping over this horrid wickedness, sin of oppression, so incompatible with the law of nature, and the whole tenor of the gospel. O, that this venerable class of people would acquit themselves like true and faithful watchmen indeed, standing on the watchtower declaring aloud to the people and sparing not, that the enemy is not only approaching, but has broken down the walls of purity, and already made a vast inroad into the pure and precious life of true Christianity!"

After a great fire in Savannah, Georgia, liberal subscriptions were made in all parts of the country to relieve the distress in that place. The city of New York gave $10,000 with the request that the money should be applied "without reference to color." When this gift was declined, Elihu Embree, who had himself given $100, "payable in bacon at ten cents a pound," wrote indignantly:

> "When I reflect that these monsters in human shape are citizens of America, the land of boasted liberty and that these very men have the audacity to take the sacred Word on their polluted lips, I am struck with astonishment and wonder at the mercy of the Supreme Being, that instead of burning the town of Savannah, he has not destroyed its proud inhabitants with fire unquenchable."

Embree was determined not to hide his light under a bushel. He did what he could to increase his subscription list and rapidly brought it up to two thousand names from all parts of the United States. He sent complimentary copies to all governors in the Union. Governor Poindexter of Mississippi, who, by the way, was retired from public life by his own constituents, because of his

opposition to the religious instruction of the slaves, acknowledged the compliment in a formal communication:

"Ashwood Place, Mississippi
July 31, 1820.

"Sir: You have thought proper to address to me several numbers of the *Emancipator,* edited and published by you at Jonesboro, in Tennessee, an honor which was both unsolicited and unexpected. The price demanded for your sheet annually, being one dollar, is to my mind conclusive evidence that you represent an association of individuals in another section of the United States, who bear the expense of the work you have undertaken, and reward your labors, and that your position in the Western country has been selected with a view to economy. I regard it as an effort mischievous in its tendency, designed to sever the bond of social harmony, which ought to be cherished and strengthened in every part of the Union, and totally unworthy of public patronage. I cannot therefore subscribe even one cent for your paper, and I have no wish to receive it on any terms. The same providence which has permitted African slavery in the new world will point to the period of its happy termination. Every real Christian and patriot will look with patient hope for the consummation devoutly to be wished for of that event, without resorting to means, calculated if not intended, to excite passions and prejudices, the most unfavorable to domestic tranquility and national prosperity.

Your fellow citizen
George Poindexter

To Mr. Elihu Embree, Jonesboro, Tenn."

The Editor concludes his comments on this communication thus:

"How a real Christian can wish and desire a thing devoutly, and show no marks of these desires by words, writings or actions, I cannot well conceive, I think such devoutness in Christians is like faith without works. The apostle James had but a low opinion of such faith and such Christians. But that kind of (lively) faith and devout, ardent wishing which produceth good works is the only kind worth propagating or worth having. The man who can have the hardihood to call himself a republican, and talk about patriotism and rights of man, and now and then mix a little of the Christian along with it, and at the same time set his face against the effort to promote justice and relieve the oppressed, has but few claims for his pretensions."

On more than one occasion the Editor bears witness to the growth of the abolition sentiment in Tennessee. The following paragraph is found in the third issue of the *Emancipator:*

> " Twenty years ago the cause of abolition was so unpopular in Tennessee that it was at the risk of a man's life that he interfered or assisted in establishing the liberty of a person of color that was held in slavery, though held contrary to law. The lives of some of my intimate acquaintances I well recollect to have been threatened, who had felt it their duty to aid some out of their unlawful thraldom. And it was sufficient in those times to procure a man the hatred of his neighbors, although he even succeeded, and the case made plain that the poor negro was not lawfully a slave. But by little and little times are much changed here, until societies of respectable citizens have arisen to plead the cause of abolition; and instead of it being a disgrace to a man to be a member of these societies, it is rather a mark of the goodness of his heart, and redounds to his honor. I have no hesitation in believing that less than twenty years ago a man would have been mobbed and the printing office torn down, for printing and publishing anything like the *Emancipator;* whereas it now meets the approbation of thousands, and is patronized perhaps at least equal to any other paper in the state."

The *Emancipator* was destined to be short-lived, and to end its existence simultaneously with the death of its devoted editor. Elihu Embree was carrying too great a burden. His publication had proved to be a financial liability. Yet he might have borne his business and editorial cares had not his fervor for the anti-slavery cause been such a consuming fire within him. He was giving too much of his vitality to the great crusade. In the Twelfth Month, 1820, he suffered a nervous and physical collapse, and died after a brief illness at the age of thirty-eight years. He was buried near the Friends' Meeting House at Big Limestone, Tennessee.

His business-minded brother Elijah was left to close up the affairs of the *Emancipator,* a task of no small proportions. He wrote concerning the matter as follows: " I suppose it [the *Emancipator*] might be profitable hereafter if people would pay up, but Elihu's aim was to diffuse it as generally as he could and risk the pay, and but a small part have paid anything."

As to the esteem in which the young Quaker editor was held, his brother wrote as follows:

> "Great lamentations are made for the loss of Elihu by men in Philadelphia (by letters directed to me) and other places, and great encomiums were given him by a preacher at his funeral and some newspapers give large descriptions of his worth and the loss sustained by his death. He seemed to be gaining on the minds of the people and some that had been opposed to the *Emancipator,* on finding his intentions to be good, and that the frowns of people could not deter him from trying to do justice to the subject, have become moderated and the opposition to slave holding seems to be gaining ground."

A human touch is added to the story by a little verse written across the worn and brittle envelope of Elijah Embree's letter. It is in the hand of Elihu's mother and exhibits the Woolman bent toward elevated religious thought:

> "The top of Carmel has withered,
> Elihu has gone; my first born
> Has stept out of time
> And left me to mourn."

The relation of Embree's *Emancipator* to the work of the later anti-slavery press is well indicated by the following statement from Benjamin Lundy's autobiography: "On my way home [from St. Louis] I was informed of the death of E. Embree, and as Elisha Bates did not come up to my standard of anti-slavery, I determined immediately to establish a periodical of my own. I therefore removed to Mt. Pleasant [Ohio] and commenced the publication of the *Genius of Universal Emancipation* in January, 1821."[14] After the paper had been published for eight months, Lundy removed to Jonesboro, Tennessee, and rented the press and the printing office that had been used by his predecessor, Elihu Embree. Thus the *Genius of Universal Emancipation* became in truth the successor of the *Emancipator.*

People in general and even members of the Society of Friends have known little about the life and work of Elihu Embree. A more just meed of praise has been granted to John Woolman,

[14] *Life . . . of Benjamin Lundy,* p. 20.

Little Egg Harbor Meeting House, 1702–1862
Tuckerton, New Jersey

Little Egg Harbor Meeting House, Built 1862
Tuckerton, New Jersey

Charles Osborn, Benjamin Lundy, Levi Coffin, the poet Whittier, and other friends who labored valiantly for the freedom of their black brothers. This essay is in memory of the young Quaker editor of Tennessee who gave himself, even unto death, to the publishing of the first periodical in the United States devoted exclusively to the great cause of emancipation.

Bibliographical Note

The definitive edition of *The Journal of John Woolman* is of course the one edited by Amelia M. Gummere, published in 1922. Basic materials on other Quaker leaders in the anti-slavery movement are mentioned in the footnotes above. The most important source of information concerning Elihu Embree and his *Emancipator* is the article by Hoss cited in note 13. This article was published also in *Amer. Hist. Mag.*, Nashville, Jan., 1897. In addition to the article by A. E. Martin, cited in note 12, see also his "Anti-Slavery Societies of Tenn." in *Tenn. Hist. Mag.*, Dec., 1915. Useful also is C. P. Patterson, *The Negro in Tenn., 1790–1865*, Univ. of Texas Bull., no. 2205, 1922. An obituary notice of Elihu Embree appeared in the *Knoxville Register* of Dec. 12, 1820. A recent brief biography of Embree is in the new *Dict. of Amer. Biog.*, 6: 124. This article is by Dr. P. M. Hamer, of the Hist. Dept., Univ. of Tenn. He refers in his bibliography to a silhouette of Embree in the Univ. of Tenn. Library, but has recently stated that this reference is a mistake. Apparently no likeness of Embree is extant.

LITTLE EGG HARBOR MEETING

By J. Henry Bartlett

A measure of mystery surrounds the seventeenth century history of the New Jersey coast. In historical phrase the history is very poorly documented. Salem on the south, Shrewsbury on the north, and Burlington on the Delaware River were definite seventeenth century focal points. For the rest of New Jersey some cautious use of the imagination is required. Probably earlier than 1675 the Dutch had sailed into Egg Harbor Inlet. It is situated midway between Sandy Hook and Cape May, and having as much as eighteen feet of water at low tide, it was inviting to perplexed mariners who had crossed the sea without an accurate determination of a landing point. Further than that, Quakers

who met persecution in New England and some others who felt the rigors of the climate there, had transported their few belongings to the more hospitable Jersey shore.

There was another potent reason for bringing settlers to the shore both from the sea and from the three focal settlements mentioned above. Nowhere outside of the tropics had nature made more bounteous provision for the material needs of life. The bays and creeks literally teemed with all the luxuries suggested in the common present day expression "Shore Dinners." In addition unlimited resources of most potent fertilizers for the sandy soil could be had from these same bays and streams. With necessities made so easy it was a thriftless family indeed that did not find itself blessed in "basket and store."

Because of the Inlet, Little Egg Harbor, known successively as The Middle of the Shore, Clam Town, and finally Tuckerton, was probably a very considerable settlement during the last quarter of the seventeenth century. Not a few of the first settlers, including certainly Jacob Falkenburg, the first of whom there is a definite record, were Friends. Indeed it would be very surprising if there had not been Friends' meetings prior to the experience recorded by Edward Andrews in a manuscript journal now in the archives at Fourth and Arch Streets, Philadelphia. His unique religious experience has often been recounted. It resulted in the regular establishment of a meeting and in the building of a meeting house on land given by him. There is evidence that the meeting was a fact in 1702. Edward Andrews records the completion of his project by 1708. That means the house had been built, trustees appointed, and deeds prepared and recorded by that date. These deeds are extant also at Fourth and Arch Streets.

The meeting house was a unique building, the lumber and shingles hand wrought, the window frames of lead imported from England, and the floor of hammered clay by a process evidently lost to our time. The "forms," as the benches were called, were of a type to suggest that Nature has provided us with an erect spinal column and that any undue supports to it might beguile one into drowsiness. The meeting house went through the Revolutionary War unscathed, although there was a midnight massacre of the American forces encamped not far

away. During the Revolutionary struggle the leaden window frames were hidden away lest they might tempt some of the younger spirits to mould them into bullets.

Like most early meetings Little Egg Harbor was the centre in good degree of the civic as well as of the religious life of the community. It maintained more than one district school and for more than fifty years conducted an academy of merit with Harvard and Yale graduates as Principals. It is worth noting in passing that a member of the School Committee through a period of years was the revered David Mapps, a colored man in the station of Overseer in the meeting.

Unhappily upon this academy, or at least upon the Principal who last served it, must rest the responsibility for the destruction of the ancient landmark so dear to generations of Friends who had worshipped in it. Friends of the meeting had prospered materially, and the Principal by degrees convinced them that they owed it to themselves and to the community to build a new meeting house. The last protestant against the obliteration of the ancient landmark was the wife of a prominent Friend, Joseph W. Pharo, herself not a Friend. When she found the stroke was inevitable she hastily summoned a photographer from New York. Unhappily photography was poorly advanced in that time, and the day was clouded so as to give a very poor result. It is from that hazy photograph that the present picture was evolved. The late John Collins was engaged to make a pen and ink sketch. When it was finished it was carried to the senior Friend of the meeting then living, Deliverance A. Bartlett, and she was asked if she had ever seen that building before. She instantly exclaimed: "It's the dear old meeting house," and proceeded to explain certain details of it not wholly revealed by the picture.

The present house built in 1862 saw the passing of the Monthly Meeting of Egg Harbor about 1900 and its union with Burlington Monthly Meeting. For a period of ten years the house was mostly closed but latterly it has been opened regularly during the summer season with an attendance probably larger than that of any other First-day meeting within Burlington Quarter except Fallsington.

The graveyard surrounding the meeting house has been in use since the end of the seventeenth century. Many of the more

prominent Friends' families from Pennsylvania and New Jersey have a bond of association with it, as the last resting place of the earthly form of some of their ancestors.

Bibliography of Little Egg Harbor Meeting

Blackman, Leah. *History of Little Egg Harbor Township, Burlington County, New Jersey.* (In *Assn. of Practical Surveyors of West New Jersey.* Camden. 1880.)

Friend, The (Phila.), 62(1889) :236; 72(1899) :337.

Heston, Alfred M. *South Jersey, a History.* 5 vols. 1924.—See 1 :141–143 *et passim.*

Almost nothing is given in the general histories of New Jersey, even in the one by Samuel Smith.

The basic source for a detailed study is in the original manuscript records preserved at 304 Arch Street, Philadelphia. These are as follows:

Little Egg Harbor Monthly Meeting,
Tuckerton, New Jersey:

Men's Minutes, 1715–1762; 1784–1901
Women's Minutes, 1715–1762; 1765–1787; 1817–1876
Births and Deaths, 1779–1886, fragmentary
Marriages, 1786–1872, fragmentary

Little Egg Harbor Preparative Meeting

Men's Minutes, 1805–1880
Women's Minutes, 1817–1853

EBENEZER HOPKINS, 1718–1757

By Rebecca Nicholson Taylor

In 1701, John Haddon, Quaker, of London, entrusted to his young daughter, Elizabeth, the care of his large properties in the new Province of West Jersey. Her courageous acceptance of the trust, her long voyage, her establishment in the humble house already on her father's property, and her marriage to John Estaugh, the young Quaker preacher, is a story familiar to many.

The Haddon properties increased rapidly in value. Surveys were made, fields cleared and cultivated, and roads improved. In 1713 John and Elizabeth Estaugh built a large brick house, superior to all buildings in the neighborhood at that time. It remained standing until 1842, when it was destroyed by fire. The site chosen for this new house was on higher ground than their former home, more central to their property, and nearer to the King's Highway and to the meeting house. This part of their estate now became known as New Haddonfield, and the present town of Haddonfield began gradually to spring up along the King's Highway.

In 1714 John Haddon sent some furniture and other items for the new house to his daughter by the ship *Mary Hope,* John Annis, Master. Among

the list of goods we note the following: thirteen chairs, two looking glasses, one desk, one chest of drawers, certain tinwares, sewing silk, etc. The desk is probably the one which now belongs to the Woodbury Historical Society. The chest is in the possession of the writer.

This consignment had a long and eventful voyage, and a narrow escape from the bottom of the sea. In a letter dated Second Month 23rd, 1715, John Haddon wrote to his "Most entirely beloved children," telling of the troubles of poor John Annis who had a hard time getting to Philadelphia. "Beating it off your coast for five weeks or more," and finally "forced to bear away to Nevis where he wrote the account thereof to John Ascue, in the Twelfth month, and sayes in a weeks' time he should be ready to sail again for Philadelphia, and hope he is with you before this date."

When we remember that these voyages were made before the invention of the sextant and the chronometer, so indispensable to modern navigation, that there were no lighthouses before 1754 to guide vessels entering the Delaware, and that pirates were roving the high seas, we realize what a long and dangerous voyage lay between England and West Jersey. That John and Elizabeth Estaugh crossed the Atlantic Ocean seven times illustrates their energy and determination. Their second visit to England was from Eighth month, 1715, to Fifth month, 1716. On this occasion there was one subject which was of growing importance, and it probably was carefully considered by the Haddon family group. John and Elizabeth had by this time given up hope of a child of their own, and the question of an heir to the Haddon acres was a serious one. John Haddon's elder daughter, Sarah, was married to Benjamin Hopkins and, naturally, one of her children was selected. There were three of these living at that time, Mary, Sarah, and Haddon. Sarah, who was about six years of age, was finally chosen to return with her aunt and be trained to succeed her.

Leaving England about the middle of Fifth Month, they must have been from six to eight weeks, and possibly longer, on their voyage. The weariness and discomfort they endured may be easily imagined. They were probably met at Philadelphia by one or more boats from the Estaugh plantation, and taken with their baggage up Cooper's Creek to Cole's landing, from whence it was about one mile to New Haddonfield.

After long weeks of looking at the ocean, how refreshing it must have been to see the cattle grazing in the marsh meadows along the creek, half hidden in the long green grass. Every landowner at that time needed such a grazing place, and the Haddon estate was well supplied. Further up the creek, great forest trees, in full leaf, lined the banks. Even now, such trees can be found on Cooper's Creek, among them some of the fine oaks for which New Jersey is distinguished. Birds in great quantities twittered and sang or darted across the water. How the travellers were met at the landing I cannot say, but it could not have been long before Sarah's new home was reached, and they were refreshing themselves at Elizabeth's bountiful table.

Bright days followed for little Sarah. Each plantation in those days was more or less self-contained. There were barns and stables, smokehouses and poultry yards. A blacksmith shop and a brew house (the latter still standing), added to the equipment. Near-by could be seen the cultivated fields won from the virgin forest by great toil. The little girl could run down the pathway, between the newly planted box and yew trees (some of which still stand where her Aunt Estaugh placed them), and looking over the brick wall, smell the sweet scents of the garden, fields, and forest. Often she must have gone further down the slope through the woods, where a little brook ran over pebbles between mossy banks, and under drooping ferns. There she could gather wild flowers and dabble in the water, just as I myself have done, five generations later. Returning home, she might find her aunt in the brew house, busy with her pestle and mortar (now in possession of the Haddonfield Historical Society), preparing medicines for those in need. John Estaugh knew something of chemistry and medicine, and no doubt Elizabeth shared his knowledge. Shortly before her death, she presented to her "kinsman," John Kaighn, who was a physician, a number of articles useful in the preparation of medicine, and some books which probably had been helpful to her.

Sarah, no doubt, watching her aunt with interest, was often thrilled by the sight of Indians, suddenly and silently appearing from the forest trails, one perhaps bearing a freshly killed buck on his shoulders. These Indians probably would often be seeking cures for their ills, perhaps hoping their condition would justify a taste of fire-water which, even to this day, many white men declare is necessary to their health and happiness. We may be sure that Elizabeth was extremely judicious in such a situation.

Another pleasure awaited Sarah. She must have a horse to ride when she went forth with Uncle and Aunt Estaugh, on their way to meeting or on other Quakerly errands. Grandfather Haddon was perhaps called upon to furnish the saddle, for he writes:

> "We are pleased to hear that little Sarah is well and liketh the country so well. Your brother and sister and all the children are well, and their love is to you both, as also the little maid, who wants a round side-saddle."

Alas for little Sarah! Her bright prospects were to fade. On Fifth Month 5th, 1718, her grandfather wrote:

> "We are very glad to hear that Sarah is so well, to whom give our love to the little traveller. Her mother is delivered of another son. I think the name for him is not agreed on. She is in a hopeful way for her condition, and the children are pretty well."

A male heir was thus provided for the Haddon properties, and his right was unquestioned.

On the third and last visit of John and Elizabeth Estaugh to England (1720–1723), little Sarah was returned to her mother, and her younger brother, who had acquired the name of Ebenezer, was taken to West Jersey,

to succeed to the inheritance of the family estate. Had it not been for this young brother, Sarah might have become as notable a woman as her Aunt Estaugh. Now little more is known of her. Her mother wrote in 1742, "Am not without hope of Sarah and Haddon, think them truly honest and just in their prime, but they like more liberty than I could wish."

Good Grandfather Haddon left Sarah in his will, "Three hundred pounds of lawful money of Great Britain." Her father, Benjamin Hopkins, left each of his "loving daughters" two hundred pounds. As Sarah probably inherited something more from her mother, she was apparently well provided for, considering her time and station, but what her future was we shall probably never know.

Ebenezer Hopkins was about five years old when he arrived in West Jersey. He was never again to visit his native land or to see his parents. That he was the object of much love and careful Quaker training, we can have no doubt, but of the particulars of his education we have little information. There are two receipts, dated in 1727 and 1728, which testify that in each of these years, John Estaugh paid twelve pounds to one John Craig for Ebenezer's board and schooling.

The Friends of Philadelphia and New Jersey had by this time become much concerned for the education of their children. At their Yearly Meeting in 1722, they made the following declaration:

> "Our advice is that all Friend's children have as much learning as to read the Holy Scriptures and other English books and to write and cast accounts—and for that end, let the rich help the poor."

Ebenezer must have received all the education available and much more than books can teach. Life on his aunt's plantation, where so many industries were carried on, was educating in itself. The fields must be cultivated, and large quantities of foodstuffs prepared to fill the great cellar with stores for the winter. Beside this, it was necessary for him to understand surveying, the clearing away of the forest, and the sale of timber. Hunting, fishing, and horseback riding were included in the daily life of the colonists, and no doubt he took part in these, though limited in all things by the strict Quaker principles of his uncle and aunt. Their travels, and the many English visitors who enjoyed their hospitality, must have given them a wider outlook on the world than had many of their neighbors. But in all Friends' principles, testimonies and customs, as then understood, they were adamant. In truth, the preaching and practicing of their own religion seemed, with the Quakers of that day, to obscure all other interests to a very great extent.

When only six years old, Ebenezer received a large bequest in the will of his Grandfather Haddon, in the following paragraph:

> "I do also give to my grandson, Ebenezer Hopkins, all my plantation in America called and known by the name of Old Haddonfield, with fifty-six acres of meadowground lying nearing a planta-

> tion of John Keys reserved out of the grant of like quantity of fifty-six acres granted and given to my son and daughter, John and Elizabeth Estaugh to be for the use of their plantation called New Haddonfield. I do give and bequeath said plantation and fifty-six acres of meadow to said Ebenezer Hopkins and his heirs forever: I do also give to said Ebenezer Hopkins two hundred sterling to be paid to him when he is twenty one years of age to be paid to him by my executrixes herein after named."

A few years later, Ebenezer was left two hundred pounds by his father, Benjamin Hopkins. Thus early endowed and with bright future prospects from his Uncle and Aunt Estaugh, carefully brought up and exemplary in conduct, Ebenezer, as he grew towards manhood, must have been the most eligible Quaker match in old Gloucester County, and Aunt Estaugh must have scanned the Quaker maidens with some anxiety. However, his fate was settled early, and in a manner which seems to have been entirely satisfactory to his aunt and uncle.

On Second Month 29th, 1737, Ebenezer at the age of nineteen married Sarah, daughter of James and Elizabeth (Clark) Lord. James Lord was an approved minister of Haddonfield Monthly Meeting, and is said to have "greatly adorned the doctrine he preached." He died before his daughter's marriage. His will gives his landed property to his sons, as was the custom of the time, but his daughters were not forgotten. The will says, "I give and bequeath to my daughter Sarah one pair of chest of drawers that stands in the hall chamber." He also leaves her one quarter of his personal estate. This was to be paid to her at the age of eighteen. The young couple were therefore well endowed for the time. Their marriage certificate records that they had declared their intentions before "Several Monthly Meetings." The signatures appended to the certificate are those of the ancestors of many old Quaker families. This is especially true of the Coopers who were near neighbors, close friends, and relatives of the bride. There were eight persons of the name of Cooper, and a number who had gained or lost the name of Cooper by marriage. Among other names we see those of Gill, Kaighn, Mickle, Wood, Tomlinson, Howell, Ladd, Wilkins, Gibson and Whitall.

The future home of the young couple was situated near a convenient landing on Cooper's Creek and near the property called Old Haddonfield, which came to Ebenezer on his majority, by John Haddon's will. What was then called the Ferry Road, leading from Cooper's Ferry to the King's Highway, was easily accessible, and a convenient way of reaching his Aunt Estaugh's home at New Haddonfield.

The house has passed through many vicissitudes and much neglect in the more than two hundred years of its existence. A recent examinaiton showed that one wing had been torn down. The remaining brick walls stood up firmly, and the woodwork was well preserved showing that skillful artisans had been employed, such as are rarely found in these days. We know not the name of the builder, but we can fairly credit it as good Quaker handi-

work. With the forest trees bordering the creek as a background, it must have been an attractive residence. One interesting reminder of its past dignity is a corner cupboard, the shelves of which were built into the wall. This cupboard surviving all the years without injury, has finally been removed to the residence of Ephraim T. Gill, a direct descendant of Ebenezer Hopkins. With its panelled doors, and the graceful curving of its shelves, it is attractive, original and in excellent condition.

In 1739 when Ebenezer came of age, John Estaugh presented him with one hundred acres of land, "to be surveyed in any place not taken up, from nine hundred and eighty acres of land below the Falls of Delaware, lawfully purchased from the Indians."

Ebenezer and his wife soon became engaged in all the activities of life belonging to faithful members of the Quaker sect, and to landowners in an undeveloped country. At one period Ebenezer was Collector of Provincial Taxes for the County of Gloucester. The only papers of his that remain are a few sheets of his accounts dated 1749 and 1753. The most noticeable feature of these accounts is the large number of wolves' and panthers' heads brought in by the Indians, and noted as paid for, the wolves' heads being valued at one pound, and the panthers' at fifteen shillings in 1749, and increased in later records. Perhaps I might insert here for its quaintness, a receipt given Ebenezer for his payment for a horse:

> "April 18. 1737. Then received from Ebenezer Hopkins the sum of twelve pounds viz. six pistoles and the rest in paper. I say Received for a horse in full of all ac't from the beginning of the world to this day per me."
> Signed Tho's Nottingham. Witness John Gill.

Ebenezer was an active member of Haddonfield Monthly Meeting. He served on different meeting appointments, and was Clerk in 1749. In 1750 his wife was recommended as a minister. In 1756 he attended the first "Meeting for Sufferings" in Philadelphia.

He was a member of the Assembly of New Jersey in 1743 and 1746. At John Estaugh's death, he succeeded to the doubtful honor of agent for the Pennsylvania Land Company of London, and found it as arduous and thankless a task, as did his uncle before him.

After Ebenezer's death, Elizabeth Estaugh, writing to Francis Rawle, refers to her nephew's difficulties in collecting rents for the Land Company as follows:

> "Also my kinsman had many fatiguing journeys after em on account to subject them and has been threatened to be shot if presumed to come there, yet has ventured and forced to sue some and threatening others, brought more into moderation."

Ebenezer Hopkins died in 1757, in his thirty-ninth year. The only account we have of his death is found in the rough copy of a letter from his Aunt Estaugh to the Land Company in London.

> "Notwithstanding I have given the account before of the death of my dear kinsman E. Hopkins, yet considering the precariousness of the time, have presumed to trouble ye with a fresh account of the great loss. I apprehend to the Company (and more so as to us) He did, before was quite laid up signify that (he) had a prospect of getting a considerable sum for the Company at the Fair (if promises might be depended upon) they having had good crops last season better than had been for divers years past And we consulted Francis Rawle to (what) might be done in that affair but could find no way to secure the persons farther than for him, if any would comply to give his receipt for so much received on the Company's account, but whether any has or not is to us a secret having had a sore time in our family, six children taken about two weeks after the decease of their father, [with small-pox] so added to our sorrow and incumbrance."

The clause "with small-pox" is inserted in another hand, evidently later, but I believe it to be correct.

Ebenezer Hopkins was the father of seven children, the youngest of whom was born after his death. He died intestate and, according to the law of the Province his eldest son, John Estaugh Hopkins, inherited all his landed estate.

Elizabeth Estaugh outlived her nephew five years. She carefully provided for every member of his family in her will. To his widow, "My loving kinswoman Sarah Hopkins," she left a house and lot in Haddonfield, with the privilege of living in the great house if she so desired. The furnishing and contents of her home were left to Sarah Hopkins and her daughters. Her eldest nephew was left all of her estate called "New Haddonfield," and thus he became a very large owner of choice land, already having inherited much of his father's property. In the year of his aunt's death, he married Sarah Mickle, a descendant of Archibald Mickle, an Irish Quaker, and one of the early settlers of New Jersey. He then took up his residence in the great house. His mother, Sarah Hopkins, settled in Haddonfield, where she lived until her death in 1796. She survived her husband about thirty-nine years, and lived to see all her children married. Only three survived her. She was a highly valued minister of Haddonfield Meeting and it was said of her that "she was endowed with every Christian virtue."

For many years, much land in and around Haddonfield was in possession of the Hopkins family. As time passed, these properties were divided, sold and resold, but a portion of the Haddon land is still owned by descendants of Ebenezer Hopkins.

THE ANNIVERSARY OF CHESTER MONTHLY MEETING

Modern scholarship has robbed us of the fabled "Age of Gold" when men led blissful lives in an "unlaborious earth and oarless sea," but it can never rob us of the rugged age of adventure in which our hardy ancestors broke into the boundless expanses of primeval forest which are now Chester

and Delaware Counties, and established Chester Monthly Meeting of Friends, and the other Monthly Meetings that grew up around it. For this reason the presentation of the Romance on Seventh-day, Tenth Month 10, 1931, at the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the establishment of Chester Monthly Meeting was an occasion long to be remembered by those who were privileged to be present.

Old Providence Meeting House was a particularly appropriate place for the gathering, as it was one of the meetings early set up as Friends advanced from Chester up the old "Providence Road" into the hinterland of the Province. The land where the Meeting House now stands was given by the first settler, Thomas Minshall, and some of the splendid trees still standing must have cast their welcome shade on some of the earliest gatherings of Friends in the new world.

The history of those early days, when Friends were arriving from the old country, and planning their new homes and establishing their meetings, was delightfully recounted in papers by Anne Walton Pennell and Lydia Sharpless Hawkins. It is a thrilling story of heroic devotion and hardy endeavor, worthy to be retold many times to a generation so little used to the hardships encountered by their ancestors in the faith.

The future that lies before Friends was effectively spoken of by Clarence Pickett of the American Friends' Service Committee.

But the portrayal of the past was made particularly vivid by the presentation of a Monthly Meeting of those early times, in which the Friends present were impersonated by their descendants, some of the same name, and all in appropriate costumes of the period. The appearance of so many "plain bonnets" and "broad brimmed hats" seemed actually to turn back the dial of time two hundred and fifty years to the days when "on the tenth day of ye 11 Month, 1681," Providence Meeting was first gathered. And the homely matters of business brought forward, and the direct and often blunt manner of treating them was refreshing in its simplicity. All was taken from actual records and there was a definite concern to avoid anything like burlesque or jest. Nevertheless, there was quaint humor when a Friend reported that his interview with another in the case of a "difference" "was not satisfactory"; and in the comment of another when a Committee reported that a "difference" case would be settled by one Friend giving to another "a two year old heffer," "I am satisfied if the heffer is a good one". The ordeal of "passing Meeting" was very realistically enacted, bringing to our eyes a custom of which we have often heard from our parents and grandparents.

The request of Men Friends, conveyed by their quaintly attired messenger, "Are Women Friends prepared to Receive Proposals of Marriage?" inevitably brought forth a general smile of amusement.

Perhaps the most delightful part of the afternoon was the social opportunity and tea serving that followed the Meeting, in which many of those in costume seemed the very embodiment of those robust early Friends, whose

lives we had before recounted, and young faces in old-fashioned "scoop" bonnets were unmistakably the daughters of women who, only a few years ago, bore the burden of Chester Monthly Meeting.

We do well thus to have the past brought before us so appealingly, for it is out of the past that we must gather our inspiration to press on toward the Quakerism of the future.

C. Wilfred Conard.

[The above account is copied, with permission, from *The Friend* (Philadelphia), Tenth Month 29, 1931. In the same issue and the one following, is printed a valuable paper entitled "The Early History of Chester Monthly Meeting" by Anne Walton Pennell. In the *Friends Intelligencer* of Tenth Month 24, 1931, is reproduced a photograph taken on the occasion, showing the procession of "ancient Friends" entering Providence Meeting House.]

THE ANTI-SLAVERY PROTEST OF 1688

In a review below of H. H. Shenk's new *Encyclopedia of Pennsylvania* reference is made to an article in that volume, page 17, on the "Anti-Slavery Movement in Pennsylvania." The article says: "The first protest against slavery was made by the Germantown Mennonites, sometimes called German Quakers, in 1688." Several statements of that nature have been made recently and they revive an old question of fact. The question is whether those residents of Germantown who signed the protest were Mennonites, merely *called* "German Quakers," or whether they were actually members with Friends.

The question was first prominently raised, apparently, by Isabella (Mrs. Thomas Potts) James in her book entitled *Memorial of Thomas Potts, Jr.*, privately printed in 1874. She clearly challenged the statement that the protest of 1688 was made *by* Friends, and referred to it as "an error that has crept into history." The most detailed and convincing reply to her contention was by O. Seidensticker in *The Penn Monthly* (Phila.), 5 (1874): 496–503. See also *The Friend* (Phila.), 48 (1874): 51 ff.; *the same*, 53 (1880): 189–90. On the discovery by Nathan Kite in 1844 of the original manuscript Protest, see *The Friend* (Phila.), 17 (1844): 125–126.

There seems to be no doubt that the Protest of 1688 was issued by Friends to Friends. It originated at a Preparative Meeting in Germantown, went thence to a Monthly Meeting at Dublin, next to Philadelphia Quarterly Meeting and finally to Philadelphia Yearly Meeting. At the close of the paper is the statement: "This is from our meeting at Germantown, held ye 18 of the 2 month 1688, to be delivered to the Monthly Meeting at Richard Worrell's. [Signed] Garret hendericks, derick up de graeff, Francis daniell Pastorius, Abraham up Den graef." (See *Special Note* below.)

The endorsement of Philadelphia Quarterly Meeting is as follows:

> "This, above mentioned, was read in our Quarterly Meeting at Philadelphia, the 4 of ye 4th mo. '88, and was from thence recommended to the Yearly Meeting, and the above said Derick, and the other two mentioned therein, to present the same to ye above said meeting, it being a thing of too great a weight for this meeting to determine.
>
> Signed by order of ye meeting,
>
> Anthony Morris"

In the first place, it is not likely that this Protest would have been passed along so punctiliously from meeting to meeting if it had not come originally from a Friends' meeting. Nor is it at all probable that the German signatories, if they had been non-Friends, would have been appointed to carry it up from the Quarterly to the Yearly Meeting. Moreover, it is well known that Pastorious was in membership with Friends, his name frequently appearing in Friends' records. Abington Friends' records contain the names of many Germans of Germantown. Dirk op den Graeff signed a Quaker protest against George Keith, while Abraham op den Graeff is recorded on the Keithian side.

Many other facts pertinent to the question may be found in the works cited above. One more work should be cited here. It is "The Mennonite Immigration to Pennsylvania in the Eighteenth Century," by C. Henry Smith, which is Part II of the *Publications of the Pennsylvania German Society*, vol. 35, 1924. (There is a facsimile copy of the Protest, opposite page 96.) This is a scholarly study and a fair presentation of the point at issue. The author says: "It is undoubtedly true that at the time (1688) three at least of the four and perhaps all the signers of the document were affiliated with the Quaker congregation. . . . It is evident that three of the signers of this protest owed their opposition to slavery to their Mennonite training." (Pages 109–110.) This seems to be a fair statement of the case. On the face of things there is no questioning the fact that the German Friends who filed the protest were taking higher ground than the Yearly Meeting was ready to take. There are no people to whom Friends today would rather give credit on this point than to their spiritual brethren, the Mennonites. The historical fact remains however unshaken, that the great anti-slavery Protest of 1688, was drawn up by a Friends meeting and addressed to Friends. It was not a protest of outsiders leveled against the practices of Friends.

Special Note: Commentators have been puzzled by the fact that four people signed the great Protest, while the Quarterly Meeting endorsement merely mentioned "the above said Derick and the other two mentioned therein." It has been suggested that Anthony Morris, Clerk of the Quarterly Meeting (as also of the Yearly Meeting), overlooked one name. The present writer has another theory. It is that the paragraph at the end of the Protest, quoted above, "This is from our meeting" etc., was merely the note of transmittal from Garret Hendricks, who was probably Clerk

for the Germantown Preparative Meeting. His name follows the last words of the paragraph, on the same line. On the next line begins "Derick up de Graeff," and then the other two, probably appointed by the meeting to sign the Protest. Hence the Clerk of the Quarterly Meeting referred properly to the "above said Derick, and the other two."

—R. W. K.

DOCUMENTS

GEORGE WHITEFIELD AND FRIENDS

The two letters (the former an excerpt) printed below indicate the attitude of two Friends, Richard Hockley and Anthony Benezet, to the great preacher, George Whitefield. The first letter (1740) was written near the beginning of Whitefield's sojourn in America, and the second (1770) in the last year of his life. Both show a breadth of religious interest not always attributed to Friends of the eighteenth century. The Hockley Copy Book and the original Benezet letter are in the manuscript collections of Haverford College.

Richard Hockley was a merchant and a Friend of Philadelphia, who was engaged in trade between that city and the West India Islands and other places. This excerpt is taken from a letter of June 8th, 1740, addressed to Mr. Bernard Hannington:

> I cant pass over in Silence to you the surprizing Change and alteration I see in the People of this Place since that Shining Light the Rev'd. Mr. Whitefield has been amongst 'em who no doubt you have heard of, Religion is the Topick of Conversation and they all have it much in their Mouths pray God it may sink deep into their Hearts so as to Influence their Actions and Conversation, make them good Neighbours and sincere Friends, which I know you will say Amen to, I have heard him Several times here & in So. Carolina and had several private Conversations with him, he appears to me to be a very sincere person Zealous for his Masters Cause, and justly admired for his Elegant though plain Language and easy to be understood and for the Serious Vein of Piety that runs through all his Exhortation crowded after by Multitudes tho much traduced by some who have no true Sense of Religion, he is endeavouring to reclaim a wicked Vicious and Sinfull Age, and that with great authority and Courage, and must own to you I never heard of or saw his Fellow.

The letter from Anthony Benezet is addressed to George Dillwyn and is dated "first Day Morning." A filing notation on the back of the letter is as follows: "Philada.—5, 6, or 7 mo. Ano. 1770."

> Dear George,
>
> After reading the enclosed, by which thou wilt perceive Truth is every where at work; neither the thickest darkness nor deepest prejudice can hinder its opperative calls; be so kind as to get it convey'd by

some safe hand to our dear Frd. J.W. [probably John Woolman]. I spent some time yesterday with G. Whitefield who appeares in a very good disposition in meekness & universal love; the accompt he gave me of the sincere desires after God which prevail in many in Grt. Britain, particularly in Scotland, even amongst those who have been zealous for the presbitery, was agreable. The Gospel must & will be preached to every creature under heaven, one way or other & it will prevail except choked with covetousness pride, the love of ease of self or lust of other things. With usual love to thy self & friends wt. thee remain thy Aff Frd.

Anth. Benezet

first Day Morning

(Those interested in Benezet are referred to a splendid sketch of his life by Amelia Mott Gummere in the new *Dictionary of American Biography*, Vol. II.)

SCHOOL DISCIPLINE

Our fellow member, Harrold E. Gillingham, has supplied the following transcript of a letter written in 1814 by his great-grandmother, Rebecca Harrold Gillingham, to her husband, Joseph, then on a business trip in England. The incident recounted in the letter relates to Westtown School, and is another illustration of the rigorous discipline in schools of that period. (Some people maintain that even today teachers often take themselves too seriously, and parents show a tendency to side with their children!)

"How my Dear J. shall I suppress the anguish that I feel—would that I were capable of describing circumstances which have transpired since thy absence so as to relieve my own mind without giving one moment of anxiety or regret to thee—perhaps thee may recollect in letters previously written wherein I informed [thee] of the uneasiness of Samuel [Harrold Gillingham] at Weston—upon which I wrote to the Superintendent—my letter had the desired effect for a few days—when he was soon placed on the disorderly list—which confines them every day at noon in one particular spot—within a small compass of a chalk line for a week or more, that is between morning and afternoon school, if they are known to stir one inch over it the punishment is lengthened—or return after every school and stand till ten o'clock at night, which was the case with Samuel for many nights. His first crime was whispering in the collecting room—there were many others on the list—Solomon Conrad's son was one—he was dissatisfied and took him away—Samuel wrote such piteous tales that on the 2nd July Father Mother and I went to see him. I need not describe my feelings when riding up to the school surrounded by a great number of children amusing themselves at noon—mine was called out of confinement to embrace his Mother—suffice it to say we brought him home with us the next day—His dear little sisters welcomed him with indescribable pleasure—and seemed fearful of losing sight of him for fear he would not return. A secret regret pervaded my mind for fear I had not acted right for his future benefit—but when we consider his past growth and so much confinement must injure his health—it reconciles me to what I have done."

NOTES AND QUERIES

An interesting book, usually listed as Anti-Quakeriana, is that by Ephraim Pagitt (or Paget), entitled *Heresiography; or, A description of the Heretics and Sectaries of these latter times.* The first edition was published in London in 1645, and hence was too early to contain a direct reference to Friends. In the fifth edition of 1654, however, there is added a dissertation on "The Quakers or Shakers, and the Ranters." The sixth edition of 1661 contains a portrait of James Nayler, with the letter "B" on his forehead, and the following lines underneath:

> "Of all the Sects that Night and Errors own,
> And with false Lights possesse the World, ther's none
> More strongly blind, or who more madly place,
> The light of Nature for the light of Grace."

"If a warm stove and one person sitting by it the usual length of time . . . can be called a meeting, those of Schuylkill have all been held. That condition of the matter occurred occasionally; we wish to attend the preparative meeting."—This extract is taken from a letter of 4 mo. 1, 1882, written by Elijah F. Pennypacker, Schuylkill, Pennsylvania, to Mary Phillips Thomas, King of Prussia, Pennsylvania. Elijah Pennypacker was probably the faithful Friend by the stove, as he was also, at an earlier time, one of the important station-masters of the "underground railway" in his part of Pennsylvania (near Phoenixville).

Many Friends are familiar with *Some Memoirs of John Roberts*, written by his son, Daniel. The choice little volume was first published in 1746, and since then has been reprinted more than a score of times.

The present writer has just read some lines of the book worth passing along. The Bishop was questioning John Roberts in Court about his children, and wanted to know how many of them had been "bishoped" (confirmed). *John Roberts:* "None that I know of." *Bishop:* "What Reason can you give for that?" *John:* "A very good one, I think. Most of my children were born in Oliver's days, when Bishops were out of fashion." ["At this the Court fell a laughing."]

In the same Court a man named Cuthbert flew into a rage at some of John Roberts' answers to questions and cried out: "If all the Quakers in England are not hanged in a month's time, I'll be hanged for 'em." At which John answered: "Prithee, Friend, remember and be as good as thy word."

One can readily understand why Oliver Wendell Holmes said of this book of memoirs: "Good as gold, every word of it."

Christian Lous Lange is a great Norwegian scholar, a well known student of the international peace movement, and a recipient in 1921 of the Nobel Peace Prize. In a study entitled "Histoire de la doctrine pacifique" he gives considerable space to the contribution of the Society of Friends to the peace movement. He quotes the writings of George Fox and Robert Barclay to show the fundamental basis of the Quaker peace testimony. He pays tribute to the work of William Penn, mentioning the peace policy carried out with the Indians of Pennsylvania, and also Penn's great project for the peace of Europe. He also emphasizes the proposal by John Bellers in 1710 for the confederation of Europe.

His comparison of the plans of Penn and Bellers may be of interest to some: "Il est aussi intéressant de voir que l'économiste J. Bellers étaie son raisonnement d'arguments d'ordre économique, aspect qui avait été complètement négligé par W. Penn. Par là il s'apparente à son prédécesseur français Émeric Crucé." (p. 282.)

Lange's essay is published in *Recueil des Cours, 1926*, III. *Academie de Droit International.* Paris. 1927.

In reply to recent inquiries, the Editor desires to refer to the following biographical sketches that appeared in the *Journal of Friends Historical Society* (London), concerning three great Quaker bibliographers: John Whiting (1656–1722), Vol. 4, pp. 7–16; Morris Birkbeck (1734–1816), Vol. 8, pp. 9–15; Joseph Smith (1819–1896), Vol. 11, pp. 1–10.

The attention of the Editor has been called to the interesting passage, quoted below, which occurs in *Caspipina's Letters* (Bath, 1777), I, 68–69. The pseudonymous author was Jacob Duché (1738–1798) and the complete pseudonym, Tamoc Caspipina, was an acrostic made from the initial letters of "the assistant minister of Christ Church and St. Peter's in Philadelphia in North America." Duché graduated in 1757 with the first class of the College of Philadelphia. He spent a year at Cambridge, England, and was later ordained in England. During the American Revolution he was at first a zealous patriot, but when the British took Philadelphia he went over to the loyalist side. For this he was denounced as a traitor by American patriots and he spent some years of exile in England. (On Duché see *Dict. Amer. Biog.*, 5: 476–477.) However, the sentiments quoted below are quite to his credit, especially as uttered at a time when zealous sectaries were often none too generous toward other denominations. The following passage occurs in a letter to a friend in England:

> "What I have said of the Quakers, your Lordship must not consider as the least disparagement or diminution of the other religious societies. The members of our communion, as well as those of the Presbyterian and other dissenting denominations, have engaged warmly in every scheme that has been proposed for the general good; though they all candidly confess, that no institutions have been carried on with so much spirit, and crowned with so much success, as those in which the Quakers have

had the lead and direction.—Penn engrafted an excellent policy upon their religious principles,—and Barclay has given these principles all the advantages, which can be derived from throwing them into the form of a system. These authors your Lordship has carefully read—and I remember once to have heard you drop an intimation, that Barclay's book had never been answered in such a manner as to weaken the force of his arguments."

From the estate of Thomas J. Battey has come recently to the collections of Haverford College, an original copy of a poem by the late Francis Barton Gummere, written in his own hand. The poem is dedicated to John Bright, and was written for the ceremony of the unveiling of his bust at Friends' School (later Moses Brown School) at Providence, R. I., on 3 mo. 28, 1884. The closing stanza of the poem is as follows:

Brief be our word, yet strong.
So we this greeting send,
Stout English heart, across the severing sea,
Whose chainless waters blend
The breezes of two nations that are free—
Free, free forevermore!
And shore shall call to shore
In sister freedom till the end of time;
And still the thunder chime
Of that vast sea shall chorus the same song.
Ay, he who bends his ear
To those great tones, shall hear
Exultant voices, swelling high, proclaim
That thou, undaunted heart,
Hast played a hero's part,
Joining with freedom's deathless song thy deathless name.

A recent acquisition by the Essex Institute of Salem, Massachusetts, is the Oak Knoll collection of manuscripts of John Greenleaf Whittier. Included in the collection are more than 100 letters written by the poet, over a period of years, to members of his family, which furnish intimate sidelights of his life; several hundred letters from literary people of his day, from Abolitionists and appreciative friends in all parts of the world; manuscript poems written by Alice and Phoebe Cary, Harriet Beecher Stowe and others, probably sent him for criticism; manuscript poems of his published works, of which "Massachusetts to Virginia" and "Fitz Green Halleck" are examples; and over 100 poems on scraps of paper, evidently impressions jotted down as they came to him and meant to serve as working material for his verses.

A particularly interesting item in the collection is the contract with Ticknor and Fields for the publication of "Snow-Bound." By this contract, which gave Whittier 10 cents on each copy sold, regardless of the expense of publication, he derived over $10,000.

This material is regarded as a very valuable addition to the institute's already priceless collections of manuscripts and data of Essex County authors. It will be mounted in books especially for the purpose, and will be available to students and others who may find it helpful or interesting.

Reference is made in this BULLETIN under "Items from Periodicals" to an illustration of the old Center Square Meeting House, Philadelphia. The sketch was found among the papers of John F. Watson, who compiled the *Annals of Philadelphia.* The late George Vaux (Senior) came to the conclusion that the sketch was not authentic. See *The Friend,* Phila., 63 (1889): 109. Perhaps Watson came to the same conclusion, for he published, instead, in his *Annals* the well known view of the Bank Meeting House.

The brick meeting house at Center Square (Broad and Market Streets), Philadelphia, was begun in 1685, and was several years in the building. It was so far away from the settled parts of the city that Friends going to it through the woods from "down town" often saw deer and wild turkeys cross their path. There was a resting seat for Friends, called "the half-way rest," under a fine shade tree at the corner of Sixth and High (Market) Streets, then well out of town. Apparently the meeting house was not much used and it fell into disrepair. A few years later (1703) it was removed and reconstructed on the *bank* of the Delaware River, thus becoming the second Bank Meeting House.—See *The Friend,* Phila., 63 (1889): 109.

The Editor has had inquiries recently about Enoch Flower, supposed to have been the first schoolmaster in Philadelphia. The following note about him is from the *Minutes of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania,* 1: 91.

"At the Council held at Philadelphia, ye 26th of ye 10th month, 1683.
Present:

Wm. PENN, Propor & Govr.
Tho. Holmes, Wm. Haigue, Lasse Cock.
Wm. Clayton,

The Govr and Provll Councill having taken into their Serious Consideration the great Necessity there is of a Scool Master for ye Instruction & Sober Education of Youth in the towne of Philadelphia, Sent for Enock flower, an Inhabitant of the said Towne, who for twenty Year past hath been exercised in that care and Imploymt in England, to whom haveing Comunicated their Minds, he Embraced it upon these following Termes: To Learne to read English 4s by the Quarter, to Learne to read and write 6s by ye Quarter, to learne to read, Write and Cast accot 8s by ye Quarter; for Boarding a Scholler, that is to say, dyet, Washing, Lodging, & Scooling, Tenn pounds for one whole year."

Enoch Flower is mentioned briefly in many histories of Pennsylvania, especially those dealing with early education in the Province. Proud states in his *History of Pennsylvania,* 1: 240, that Enoch Flower was a member of the first Grand Jury in Pennsylvania; also (1: 345) that he came from Corsham, in Wiltshire.

Eleanor Newland has gleaned the following facts about this early teacher from the manuscript records at 304 Arch Street, Philadelphia: His certificate of membership with Friends, dated 3 mo. 21, 1683, came from Brinkworth [in Wiltshire]. He is mentioned as signing a certificate, with other Friends, in Philadelphia Monthly Meeting, 6 mo. 5, 1684.—No record of his death was found, but there is a record of the death of an Enoch Flower, perhaps a grandson, deceased 7 mo. 13, 1733, aged 70 years.

Vol. VIII of the *Dictionary of American Biography* contains the biographies of persons who were Friends or of Friendly connection: Clement Acton Griscom (1841–1912); John Griscom (1774–1852); Francis Barton Gummere (1855–1919); John Gummere (1784–1845); Samuel James Gummere (1811–1874); Herbert Spencer Hadley (1872–1927); Benjamin Hallowell (1799–1877); Richard Price Hallowell (1835–1904); Phoebe Ann Coffin Hanaford (1829–1921); Marcus Alonzo Hanna (1837–1904); James Harlan (1800–1863); James Harlan (1820–1899); Josiah Harlan (1799–1871); Richard Harlan (1796–1843); John Harrison (1773–1833); Henry Hartshorne (1823–1897); Rowland Gibson Hazard (1801–1888); Thomas Hazard (1720–1798); Thomas Robinson Hazard (1797–1886); Joseph Hewes (1730–1779).

It is planned to make the Autumn BULLETIN, 1932, a combination of historical articles and index matter. The time has come for publishing the combined index for the past five years of the BULLETIN, Volumes 16–20, 1927–1931. Therefore, this index will make up the latter part of the BULLETIN, Volume 21, no. 2, and will be distributed to all members and subscribers without extra charge. Even those who do not preserve the back numbers of the magazine will probably wish to keep this index number. By referring to it they can determine whether a particular historical item has been covered in the BULLETIN, and can then look up any such item in the files preserved in some library.

In the BULLETIN 19 (1930): 101, was published a poetic eulogy on Barclay's *Apology*, found in an old copy of the book. Since then we have found the verses published in *The Friend*, Phila., 76 (1902): 77. In a short introduction to the lines, it is stated that they were addressed by Richard Peters, Protestant Episcopal clergyman of Pennsylvania, to Anthony Benezet, who had loaned him a copy of Barclay's *Apology*.

In *The Friend* (Phila.), 4 mo. 1, 1926 and following numbers, appeared a valuable historical summary of the growth of temperance sentiment in Philadelphia Yearly Meeting. It consists of extracts from the Yearly Meeting Minutes from 1706 to 1921. Today, happily, it seems a far cry to the caution of 1706, "that none accustom themselves to vain and idle company, sippling and tippling of drams and strong drink in inns and elsewhere."

A paper entitled "Some Aspects of the Underground Railway in the Counties of Southeastern Pennsylvania" was read before the Autumn Meeting of the Historical Society of Montgomery County by our former fellow member, Joseph Hutchinson Smith.

The date of Sir William Penn's death slipped through as 1770 in the BULLETIN, Vol. 20, p. 48. It should of course be 1670.

The Historical Society of Frankford has published a booklet in memory of George Smedley Webster (1855–1931). This publication is Volume III, No. 4 of the *Papers Read Before The Historical Society of Frankford.* Apart from the main essay on the life of George Smedley Webster, there are resolutions passed by various organizations at the time of his death. The list of his engineering works and his service to many good causes is impressive. Outstanding in his professional life is the fact that the great Delaware River Bridge, connecting Philadelphia and Camden, was built under his supervision. It is the longest suspension and largest highway bridge ever built.

The two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the coming of the Biddle family to this country, in 1681, was observed in the auditorium of The Historical Society of Pennsylvania on 11 mo. 12, 1931. More than 200 members of the family were present. The history of the Quaker branch of the family was traced by James Garrett Biddle, of Wallingford. An account of the occasion, containing the papers presented, is announced for publication in the near future.

"Agitation against the Slave Trade in Rhode Island, 1784–1790" by Elizabeth Donnan of Wellesley College, is a brief essay in a volume in honor of George Lincoln Burr, entitled *Persecution and Liberty* (New York, The Century Company, 1931). It deals with the joint efforts of Moses Brown, the Quaker, and the Reverend Samuel Hopkins, the Congregationalist, to educate public opinion on the slave trade. Their efforts were varied, persistent and successful. A principal source used is the "Moses Brown Papers" in the Rhode Island Historical Society and his correspondence with Friends in other parts of the world.—H. J. C.

A history of Fair Hill Friends Meeting, Germantown Avenue and Cambria Streets, Philadelphia, is being compiled, and assistance by way of information, pictures, photographs, clippings, books, letters, etc., will be very much appreciated. Many of the records have been lost, and persons having any information are requested to forward the same to Stuart S. Graves, 3033 Germantown Avenue, Philadelphia, Pa. The original Fair Hill structure was the fourth Friends Meeting House to be established in Philadelphia, and was opened for worship in 1702.

The following articles have been presented to Friends' Historical Association by a friend who did not wish her name known:

Money scales and weights which belonged to Stephen Grellet.

Compass which belonged to Stephen Grellet, with initials "S. G." engraved on the bottom.

Mother-of-Pearl card case which belonged to Mary Anna Longstreth, who was born in 1811 and who died in 1884. She taught school for fifty years in Philadelphia and conducted the best known private school for girls in her time.

These are very interesting and valuable historic relics, and Friends' Historical Association is deeply grateful to its unknown friend.

Some years ago each member of Friends' Historical Association received a gift of the book by Charles F. Jenkins entitled *Tortola, A Quaker Experiment of Long Ago in the Tropics.* Friends in England have now discovered about 50 copies of this booklet, constituting a remainder of those distributed to members of Friends Historical Society in that country. These copies are now available, by the kindness of the author, for distribution as gifts to those who have joined Friends' Historical Association in recent years and who have not received a copy of this interesting and valuable book. Any one who would like to have a copy should address the Secretary of the Association, Miss Anna B. Hewitt, Haverford College, Haverford, Pennsylvania.

ITEMS FROM PERIODICALS

Friends Intelligencer

—In the issue of 11 mo. 7, 1931, p. 941, is a notice of the two hundredth anniversary of Mansfield Meeting in Burlington County, New Jersey. The anniversary meeting was held on 10 mo. 25, 1931, and the house was filled to its capacity with Friends of the neighborhood and from more distant parts. The old meeting house was started in 1725 and completed in 1731. A brief historical sketch of the meeting was given by Edith S. G. Reeder, and an address, "Looking Forward," by G. Harvey Borton.

—In response to the invitation of Friends Historical Library at Swarthmore College, a movement is under way for the copying of gravestones in Friends' burial grounds. The stones in several of the meeting house grounds have already been copied, and the records are being filed systematically in the Library. This is an important piece of historical work, and the Librarian of Friends Historical Library is to be commended for carrying it on.—11 mo. 14, 1931, p. 960.

—Friends at Millville, Pennsylvania, have recently been making an effort to improve the condition of the old graveyard at Catawissa, one of their subordinate meetings. It would be a splendid thing if this movement for the preservation of old burying grounds would spread among Friends.—11 mo. 28, 1931, p. 1002.

—The issue of 2 mo. 20, 1932, contains an article entitled "Quaker Contacts with Washington." It mentions incidents culled from the recent book by Charles F. Jenkins entitled *Washington Visits Germantown.* It refers also to various other historical events concerning the relation of Washington to Friends, taken from various historical works. The article is interesting and very timely, in connection with the two hundredth anniversary of George Washington's birth.

—A series of articles entitled "Voltaire and the Quakers" began publication in the issue of 2 mo. 20, 1932. After the introduction, Benjamin R. Burdsall, the author, gives translations of Voltaire's letters concerning the Quakers in *Lettres Philosophiques,* from an edition published in Paris in 1924. Voltaire's description of Andrew Pitt, a Friend whom he visited on arriving in England, may be of interest: "He was dressed like all those of his religion, in a coat minus the pleats on the sides, and without buttons on the pockets or on the sleeves, and he wore a big hat with a wide brim like our churchmen. He received me with his hat on, and advanced towards me without making the least inclination of the body. But there was more politeness in the frank and benevolent expression of his face than there is in the custom of drawing up one leg behind the other, and carrying in the hand that which is meant to cover the head."

The Friend (Philadelphia)

—Beginning in 1924, Friends of both branches in Chestnut Hill held meetings for worship in the borrowed office of a factory building. On 9 mo. 13, 1931, the meeting was held for the first time in the newly completed meeting house at 100 East Mermaid Lane. A notice of the meeting and a picture of the new meeting house are in the issue of 12 mo. 3, 1931.

—Lansdowne Monthly Meeting celebrated its one hundredth anniversary on 11 mo. 21, 1931, at the Lansdowne Avenue Meeting House, Lansdowne, Pennsylvania. Friends of both Lansdowne Meetings, of Darby Meeting, and from various other groups of Friends were present. An historical paper concerning the early history of Pennsylvania was presented by Clarence Brazer, President of the Delaware County Historical Society. C. Wilfred Conard reviewed the history of the meeting, calling attention to the Friends who have rendered great service to it. Special reference was made to the Garrett, Longstreth, Sellers, Rhoads, and Pennock families, and in the later period to Jacob Elfreth and Rebecca Conard. The evening address was given by Henry J. Cadbury.—12 mo. 3, 1931, p. 274.

—Looking forward to the centennial anniversary of Haverford College, the managers of the institution inaugurated in 1931 a Founders' Day cele-

bration. It was held on 10 mo. 28, 1931, in the auditorium of Roberts Hall. The principal addresss by Rufus M. Jones is printed in *The Friend* (Phila.), 12 mo. 17, 1931. It reviews the early history of the college and refers to many of the founders.

—An article from *The Wayfarer,* copied in *The Friend* (Phila.), 2 mo. 18, 1932, is entitled "Early Quaker Stalwarts of the Temperance Cause." It contains valuable historical data concerning the pioneers of the temperance cause in Great Britain and Ireland.

The Friend (London)

—The issue of 10 mo. 30, 1931, pp. 991–993, contains an account drawn from the diary of William Stephens (1788–1836), of Bridport, Dorsetshire, England. The author of the diary reports altogether fourteen travelling Friends from America. Among them is Samuel Smith, of Philadelphia, whose name appears in the Third Month, 1790. (This, of course, was not Samuel Smith, the historian, of Burlington, New Jersey. He died in 1776. Samuel Smith, of Philadelphia, was the son of Robert and Phebe Smith. He died in 1817.) William Stephens did not attend the meeting, but his remarks on account of non-attendance are worthy of preservation in this record: "It was on a week-day and some customers unexpectedly prevented my attending the meeting, which, on reflection, afforded me much uneasiness, as on such an occasion I should have dismissed my customers and shut the shop. This Friend left his native land, his connections, and probably business, exposed himself to the perils of the sea, and other dangers, in order to visit the Churches in this land and to promote the noble cause of Truth; and it appeared to me in a criminal light, that any member of Society should suffer business that might be put by, to prevent his attendance of those religious opportunities, appointed by ministers so eminently given up to do good."

—There is an article, with portrait, on the retirement of Edward Bassett Reynolds from the editorship of *The Friend* (London), in the issue of 12 mo. 25, 1931, pp. 1181–1183. He was Assistant Editor and Editor from 1892 to 1931. This article contains valuable historical notes about the founders and early editors of this outstanding Friendly periodical.

—In the issue of 1 mo. 1, 1932, p. 9, is an interesting news item concerning a grandfather clock, made by Daniel Quare, Quaker clockmaker to William III. This clock was sold recently for £425. Daniel Quare was the inventor of repeating watches, and visitors may still see at Hampton Court the clock he made for William of Orange, which needed winding only once a year. Daniel Quare was a concerned and sturdy Friend, who suffered his share of imprisonment for non-payment of tithes, and for refusing to help in the upkeep of militia.

—Two tributes to the late James Doyle Penrose, who died 1 mo. 2, 1932, are published in the issue of 1 mo. 15, 1932, pp. 47–48.

He was a devout Christian, and several of his well-known paintings have a deep spiritual significance. Those best known to Friends are "None

Shall Make Them Afraid", and "The Presence in the Midst." The former tells a familiar story of the Friends' meeting at Easton, New York, as it was visited by threatening Indians.

The following quotation tells, in the artist's own words, how he visited on a beautiful summer day, the old Jordans Meeting House, and sitting there, quite alone, received the inspiriation for his painting, "The Presence in the Midst": "I seemed as I contemplated all those who had worshipped there in the past, to be surrounded by them in imagination as if they were gathered there. I pondered on what it was that gave them all their power, for they had power in those bygone times, and then I realized that it was the presence of Christ amongst them—'The Presence in the Midst.' And I felt there was a subject that I ought to paint, however inadequate I felt for the task; and I did feel that it was a very great undertaking."

—The issue of 1 mo. 22, 1932, pp. 66–67, contains an interesting article "A New Member Looks at Our Treasures." The "New Member" tells of a visit to Friends Library in London, and calls attention in a new and fresh way to some of the priceless treasures of the past, in manuscript and print, preserved there. The article is well worth reading by all who believe that "The roots of the present lie deep in the past." The facts cited are informing, and are likely to make the reader more interested and concerned for the preservation of Friendly records in his own neighborhood.

Miscellaneous

—The issue of *The American Friend* of 11 mo. 19, 1931, is devoted largely to Friends' Missions in Jamaica. It contains much historical material, including valuable portraits of Friends connected with the mission work in that island.

—*The American Friend,* 12 mo. 17, 1931, p. 943, announces the reopening of the historic old Orchard Park Meeting House on West Quaker Street, Orchard Park, New York, just outside of Buffalo. It is a well preserved colonial building, with soft gray interior walls, and old-fashioned though comfortable benches. The meeting was well attended on the opening day, 12 mo. 6, 1931.

—The first article in *The Journal of the Friends Historical Society* (London), Vol. 28, 1931, is entitled "George Fox's Library", by our friend John L. Nickalls, Librarian of Friends Library, London. It is based on a surviving list of some of the books in George Fox's library. The list, printed with the article, contains one hundred and twelve items. Many of the titles represent apparently only the first of a number of pamphlets bound together. A note indicates that there were no less than two hundred and forty-seven titles in other parcels, of which no list is extant. John Nickalls estimates that there may have been several thousand books and pamphlets in the complete collection. A significant fact established by the surviving list is that George Fox possessed books by mystical writers ante-dating Quakerism. The author has supplied valuable editorial notes on many of the books mentioned.

Number 108 in the list is of special interest to readers of the BULLETIN. It is "A Dutch Testament with Clasps." This little volume now rests securely in the fireproof quarters of Friends' Historical Association at 1300 Locust Street, Philadelphia. It has been rebound (alas!) but the old covers with the brass clasps lie beside the precious booklet. The first page of the Testament is reproduced in facsimile at the beginning of the article by John Nickalls, along with the inscription "G. ffs Book," which appears on the back fly-leaf of the Testament in the hand of Mark Swanner.

See, in connection with the above, a valuable commentary entitled "George Fox's Library," by Henry J. Cadbury, in *The Friend* (London), 3 mo. 25, 1932, p. 255. Also in *The Friend* (Phila.), 4 mo. 14, 1932, p. 494.

—A brief sketch of the life of Mary Fisher (later Bayley, later Crosse) was published in *The South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, 12 (Apr. 1911): 106–108.—See also the article by George Vaux on "Friends in Charleston, S. C." in *The Friend* (Phila.), 82 (1909): 403 f., 411 f.—In this connection should be mentioned also a compilation on "The Records of the Quakers in Charlestown" in *The South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, 28 (1927): 22 ff.

—An interesting and scholarly article entitled "Pennsylvania Versus the Theatre," by William S. Dye, Jr., appeared in *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, 55 (Oct. 1931): pp. 333–372. Naturally there is a good deal in the article on the Quaker attitude toward the theatre, with quotations from William Penn's *No Cross No Crown*. The author then follows the restrictive legislation on the subject down to 1794, when the "Blue Laws" were revised by the Assembly and no mention made of theatres or plays. In this connection see also the article by E. K. Maxfield entitled "Friendly Testimony Regarding Stage Plays" in this BULLETIN, 14 (1925): 13 ff.

—In the *Publications of the Genealogical Society of Pennsylvania*, 11 (1931): 103–126, there is a biographical sketch of "William Preston of Newcastle-upon-Tyne and Philadelphia." He was born at Newcastle, England, in 1650 and died at Frankford, Philadelphia, in 1717. He was an active citizen and Friend, engaged in many good works. He was for a time a follower of George Keith. As such he went on one occasion with Robert Turner to the old Bank Meeting House and tore down the minister's gallery, having developed a "testimony against galleries." He later acknowledged his error and was received again into the favor of Friends. The article presents a good deal of genealogical data on the Preston family.—The illustration of Center Square Meeting House (p. 108) is probably not authentic. (See item above under "Notes and Queries.")

—In *Now and Then*, IV (1931): 245–251, there is an article giving genealogical information about the family of Comly Randall (1738–1801), a birthright Friend, who was one of the pioneer settlers of Muncy Township, Pennsylvania. He was born in Philadelphia County, the son of Nicholas and Agnes Randall, and removed to Muncy Township about 1785. After his death his surviving children moved to York County, Ontario, Canada.

—On account of the close relations between Conrad Weiser and the Friends of his day, the following item is worthy of notice. In the *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, 23 (1931): 604–617, there is an article by Mrs. K. T. Anderson entitled "Colonel Conrad Weiser, Pioneer, Soldier, Diplomat, Judge, Provincial Interpreter." It tells of the formal dedication in Ninth Month, 1928, of the homestead site and private burial plot of Conrad Weiser, as an historical shrine to be known as Weiser Park. This property is half a mile east of Womelsdorf, Berks County, Pennsylvania, and covers twenty acres, the very heart of the original 1000 acre tract that belonged to Weiser. The original home was erected in 1730, and stands in the middle of the tract, about 200 feet south from the William Penn Highway.

—An article entitled "Family Records and Traditions—Brown-Burr", compiled by Joseph Fourestier Simpson, is published in *The Vineland Historical Magazine*, 16 (April 1931): 33–46. This article gives genealogical information in regard to the Brown and Burr families, beginning with Nicholas Brown of England, who was a resident of Portsmouth, Rhode Island, in 1638. His grandson, Preserve Brown, moved to Burlington County, New Jersey, in 1710. Letters are printed written by Sarah Burr, while she was a student at Westtown School in 1801 and 1802.

—In the *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 26 (Dec. 1931): 311–315, there is an article by Ella K. Barnard entitled "Mount Royal and Its Owners." Information is given about Christopher Birckhead, of Bristol, England, who was convinced of the Truth by George Fox in 1654, and who seven years later emigrated with his family to Anne Arundel County, Maryland. His descendant, Dr. Solomon Birckhead (1761–1836), of Baltimore, built Mount Royal, and left it to his daughter, Christiana, wife of Dr. Thomas Emerson Bond, Sr., of an old Quaker family. At the death of Hugh Lennox Bond, Mount Royal came into the possession of Baltimore Friends Meeting (Park Avenue), and is now "The Taylor."

—Valuable genealogical information is given in an article entitled "Families of Churchill, Croker, Fox, Coplestone, Bonvile, Ellicott, etc. of Devonshire, England, and some of their Descendants in America," compiled by William M. Ellicott, and published in the *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 26 (Dec. 1931): 362–380. The Ellicott family of Maryland is traced from Robert Ellicot(t) of England, one of the earliest Friends, whose grandson, Andrew Ellicott, emigrated in 1730 to Bucks County, Pennsylvania. Andrew's descendants became in 1772 the founders of Ellicott's Mills in Maryland, now called Ellicott City.

—In *The Exile Herald*, February 1932, published by the Society of the Descendants of the Schwenkfeldian Exiles, Philadelphia, pp. 17–24, there is a valuable article on "William Penn and His Attitude Toward Peace" by William Wistar Comfort, President of Haverford College. The Editor cannot forbear to quote here the last paragraphs:

"And how he loved this distant colony of his over here! It was his delight; it was where he had tried to work out the ideals most precious to him.

"Last winter I received, as perhaps some of you did, a document emanating from nearby here in Philadelphia which said: 'The ideals of its founder, William Penn, still animate the city.' The man who wrote that is an optimist! This is what William Penn himself said when he was saying farewell to Philadelphia, and with it I will close because it is most characteristic of the man:

> "'And thou, Philadelphia, the virgin settlement of this province, named before thou were born, what love, what care, what service, and what travail has there been to bring thee forth and preserve thee from such as would abuse and defile thee! . . .
>
> "'My love to thee has been great, and the remembrance of thee affects mine heart and mine eye. The God of eternal strength keep and preserve thee to his glory and thy peace!'"

—In the *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America,* 47 (1932): pp. 179–190, is an article by our fellow member, Ezra Kempton Maxfield, on "Daniel Defoe and the Quakers." The author begins by telling how William Penn, and probably other Friends, showed great kindness to Daniel Defoe at a time when the latter was ill and under persecution. The remainder of the paper shows how poorly Defoe repaid Friends, misrepresenting them and holding them up to ridicule in his writings. The final conclusion of Dr. Maxfield is as follows: "Thus I think it should be clear that, while Defoe may not have been any more the enemy of the Friends than of other people, he certainly did not spend much time in their defence, even if he did no harm to the Society by his liberties with their reputations."

—There are several items of historical interest in *The Penn Charter Magazine,* 45 (1931). Dr. Richard M. Gummere, Headmaster, has a brief article on "Penn Charter Worthies of the Revolutionary Period," pp. 377–78. Special reference is made to George Keith, Robert Proud, Anthony Benezet, and Charles Thomson. There is also an article (pp. 387–388) concerning the original petition for a Friends' school in Philadelphia written by Samuel Carpenter, 1697–98. The original of this petition was recently purchased at public auction by Alfred G. Scattergood, Clerk of the Board of Overseers of William Penn Charter School. A facsimile copy of the document is printed at the head of the article.

BOOK NOTICES

Books of interest to Friends may usually be purchased at the following places:

Friends' Book Store, 302 Arch Street, Philadelphia.
Friends' Central Bureau, 1515 Cherry Street, Philadelphia.
Friends' Book and Tract Committee, 144 East 20th Street, N. Y. C.
Friends' Book and Supply House, Richmond, Indiana.
Friends' Book Centre, Friends House, Euston Road, London, N.W. 1, England.

Jenkins, Charles F. *Washington Visits Germantown.* Philadelphia: Germantown Historical Society. 1932. Pp. 91. $1.25.

This little booklet is a worthy contribution to the two hundredth anniversary of Washington's birth. It is taken chiefly from the same author's larger book of 1905 entitled *Washington in Germantown,* with the addition here and there of newly discovered facts.

Most people know that Germantown was settled in 1683 by German Friends and Mennonites from the lower Rhine country. Probably not so many realize the prominent place Germantown has had in many lines of human endeavor. "The first paper mill in the colonies was erected here before 1700. . . . Three editions of the Bible were printed here in German before an English one was made elsewhere in the colonies. . . . The first religious paper, the first hymn book, the first work on pedagogy, the first type casting, and the first public protest against the institution of human slavery are a few of the results of the enterprise and public spirit of its German settlers and their descendants."

Probably a still greater claim for distinction is the fact that during the month of November, 1793, while yellow fever raged in Philadelphia, Germantown was the seat of Government of the United States. For the whole month the President resided there and "it was one of the busiest, the most trying, and in some ways, as important as any month in the whole eight years of his administration."

Germantown also has a worthy place in the history of American art. "The honor of having been the place where was painted the best known and the most satisfactory portrait of the First President, which has also been considered the masterpiece of a truly great portrait painter, is one well worth striving for, and one which seems properly to belong to Germantown."

The book has ten full page illustrations including views of the two residences which Washington occupied, and also one of the house in which Gilbert Stuart lived while he painted the Washington portraits.

Few books of small dimension contain such a wealth of information as does this little volume by the President of Friends' Historical Association. It is timely, pertinent, and of absorbing interest.—N. B. K.

Pray, Frances Mary. *A Study of Whittier's Apprenticeship as a Poet: Dealing with Poems Written between 1825 and 1835 Not Available in the Poet's Collected Works.* Bristol, New Hampshire: The author. 1930. Pp. 268. $2.50.

This is a thesis presented for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at Pennsylvania State College. The author has definitely located nearly three hundred poems published here and there by the Quaker poet in the decade after he was eighteen years of age. Whittier, during his later life, destroyed most of the manuscripts of these poems and did not include them in his published works. They are now made available for those who wish to study the handiwork of the poet in his formative years.

Here are poems on social and political questions, love poems, humorous poems, etc. Some of them are crude enough. Others show flashes of the poet's later and more mature powers.

The author speaks highly of "The Black Fox," as showing some of the simplicity and directness of diction that characterized the poet's later work. One is reminded of "Snowbound" by the picture of the winter evening around the New England fireside:

> The air above was cold and keen,
> The earth was white below. . . .
>
> Around an ancient fireplace,
> A happy household drew;
> A husband and his own good wife
> And children not a few;
> And bent above the spinning wheel
> The aged grandame too.
>
> At length up spoke a fair-haired girl
> Some seven summers old,
> "Now, grandame, tell the tale again
> Which yesterday you told;
> About the Black Fox and the men
> Who followed him so bold."

It would seem that the author might have correlated some of the poems a little more definitely with the facts of the poet's life that inspired them. Take for example the chapter on "Love Poems." Neither in it nor in the first chapter, on "Outstanding Influences on Whittier," is there anything definite about the romances that lay back of these love songs. In general, however, the author sets forth the various conditions, including Friendly influences, that helped to develop Whittier's poetic powers. The book provides an interesting picture of the Quaker poet in the making.

Robinson, Ralph M. *The Penn Country and the Chilterns.* New York: Dodd, Mead and Company. 1929. Pp. 212. $5.00.

The author secured his information and inspiration for this book by travelling on foot through the charming land of the Chiltern Hills, about thirty miles northwest of London. There lie Jordans and other quaint little villages, once the home neighborhood of Penn and other prominent Friends. The

stories of the countryside are beautifully told by the author, and the twenty-five illustrations, by Charles Bathurst, lend further charm to the book.

Shenk, Hiram H. (Editor) *Encyclopedia of Pennsylvania.* Harrisburg: National Historical Association, Inc. 1932. Pp. 593. $12.50.

This stout volume, packed with useful and interesting information, is a real contribution to Pennsylvania history. It contains about 3000 articles, from one-line notes to page-long accounts, on as many persons, places, events, and movements. It is a ready reference library in itself. It is generously illustrated. It has an appendix listing the townships of Pennsylvania and locating them by counties. Its second appendix gives a list of all Pennsylvanians mentioned in *Who's Who in America, 1929–1930.* This latter list will be a balm to many, for apparently "all God's chillun" are there.

Everybody could suggest names that should have been included in this encyclopedia but are not. The reviewer's suggestions are as follows: Howard M. Jenkins, Anthony Morris, David Lloyd, Israel and James Pemberton, Edward Shippen, John Kinsey, the Indian "Papunahung," and certainly William Savery.

The article on Isaac Sharpless is too brief, and why the mistake of saying he died in New York! No birth-date is given for Thomas Chalkley, and he is identified merely as a "religious leader." The four words "Quaker merchant and mariner" would have added three additional important facts about him.

The article on David Rittenhouse is adequate and timely. The one on the Society of Friends is well done considering the limitations of space. In the "Anti-Slavery Movement in Pennsylvania," reference is made to the protest of 1688 by "Germantown Mennonites, sometimes called German Quakers." This point is referred to, pp. 28–30, above.

In spite of criticisms of detail, the reviewer repeats that this volume is a real contribution to Pennsylvania history. As a reference work it will be widely used and will always be a present help in time of trouble.

Voss, Ernst. *Vier Jahrzehnte in Amerika.* Stuttgart. Deutsche Verlage-Anstalt. 1929. Pp. 452.

The author is Professor of German philology in the University of Wisconsin. This collection of his writings contains an essay on "William Penn und die ersten deutschen Ansiedler," pp. 278–295. He was led to his study of Friends by their service in Europe during and after the World War. With some exceptions his description of Friends' principles is sound. Imagine, however, Joseph John Gurney, after his study of German mentioned in a recent review, reading the following: "Ausserdem gibt es noch eine Sekte, die Guerneys, welche in vieler Hinsicht den Methodisten gleichen, singen, lärmen, ja sogar sich umherwälzen aus lauter religiöser Begeisterung." (P. 280.)

Wallace, Philip B. *Colonial Churches and Meeting Houses, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Delaware.* Architectural Book Publishing Company, Inc., 108 West 46th Street, New York. 1931. Pp. 291. $20.00.

For a selection of well chosen and well reproduced pictures of Friends' meeting houses it would be difficult to improve upon those included in this handsome volume. The meeting houses illustrated are as follows: *Pennsylvania:* Free Quakers, Philadelphia, 1783; Radnor, Ithan, 1713; Lower Merion, Narberth, c. 1700; Arch Street, Philadelphia, 1804; Fourth and Green Streets, Philadelphia, 1812; Buckingham, Lahaska, 1768; Gwynedd; Horsham, 1803; Providence, Media, 1814. *New Jersey:* Crosswicks, Rancocas, 1772; Mansfield, 1812; Mullica Hill; *Delaware:* Odessa, 1773; Camden, 1805. Most of the meeting houses are represented by several views, and the pictures are beautiful above the ordinary.

The Introduction by Horace Wells Sellers is a contribution in itself. Two paragraphs, that beckon us toward other days, are here quoted:

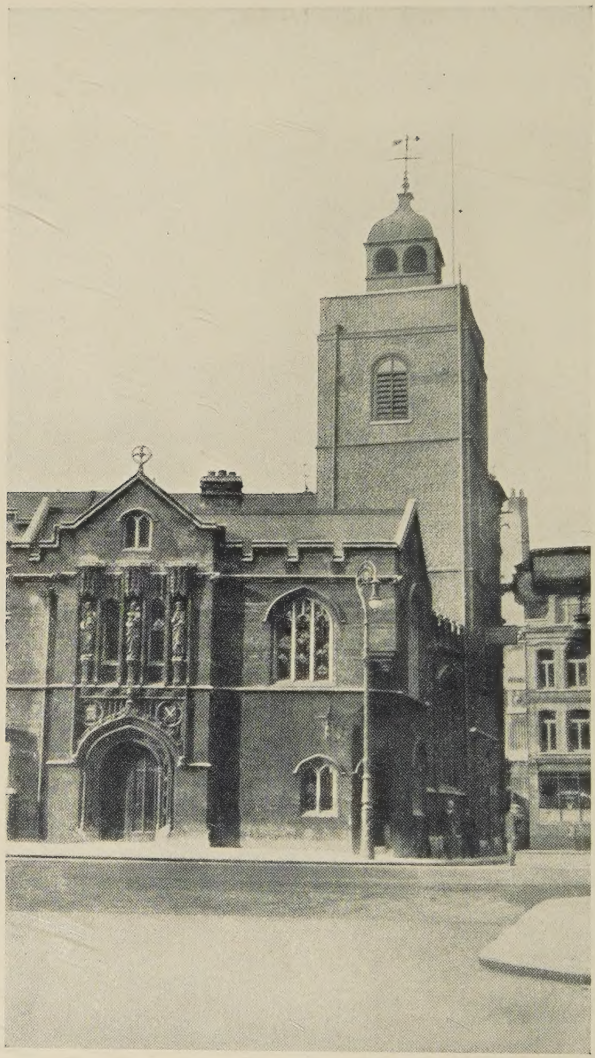
> "Before steam power revolutionized its social and physical structure, the skyline of Philadelphia was broken chiefly by the spires and belfries of her churches and the trees that rose above the housetops. It is interesting to picture the environment of these sacred places as they appeared when the City extended but a few blocks away from the river front and many homes of the merchants overlooked their warehouses and shipping, while adjacent to the westward lay farm and woodland reaching to the Schuylkill River and beyond.
>
> "Proximity of the dwellings to Church and Meeting House was of moment when few vehicles ventured to intrude upon the decorous observance of the Sabbath and walking to and from places of worship was a reverential custom; recalling what was later described as the 'sacramental walk' of the churchgoers on Walnut Street after their Sunday morning devotions."

Most of our members are versed in Philip B. Wallace's *Colonial Houses of Philadelphia.* They will wish to congratulate our friend and fellow member on this worthy sequel to it.

Weiss, Harry B., and Ziegler, Grace M. *Thomas Say. Early American Naturalist.* Springfield, Illinois: Charles C. Thomas. 1931. Pp. 260. $5.00.

This is a beautifully printed and illustrated book on the life of the "Father of American Zoology." It deals more with his life in general than with his scientific attainments and has the freshness that comes from a study of original sources. It presents a clear picture of certain phases of Philadelphia life in the late eighteenth century, also of the New Harmony settlement in Indiana, where Thomas Say lived for a time and where he died.

Of special interest to readers of the BULLETIN is the fact that the great naturalist was a birthright Friend and a student at Westtown School. In 1799, at the age of twelve years, he was enrolled as the seventeenth pupil at the school in the first year of its existence. Apparently he did not care for his teachers or their teaching. He acquired a strong dislike for the usual branches of learning. (Surely one of the great functions of a school or college is to drive some students into the way of their genius by driving them out of the common way!) In any case Friends may well be proud that Thomas Say was once a pupil at Westtown.



The ancient London Church of All Hallows, Barking, by the Tower of London, in which William Penn, aged ten days, was baptized on Tenth Month 23, 1644.